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63, ELM PARK GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.
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N.B. An acknowledgment of receipt of the volume is requested to the address of

R. N. CUST, LL.D.,
63, ELM PARK GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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PUBLICATIONS BY ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

1. ETON ADDRESSES TO KING WILLIAM IV. 1840.
2. HAILEYBURY-OBSERVER CONTRIBUTIONS. 1840–1842.
3. CALCUTTA-REVIEW CONTRIBUTIONS. 1846–1899. 50 in 54 years.
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39. THE GOSPEL-MESSAGE. 1896.
40. POEMS OF MAN[illegible]

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Life=Memoir

OF A

Ruler of Subject Provinces, Day=Labourer,

Globe=trotter, Fearless Inquirer,

Book=devourer, Careful Note and Extract=taker,

Outspoken Critic,

Copious writer and publisher for half=a=century,

AND A

Christian Freethinker.

1821—1899.

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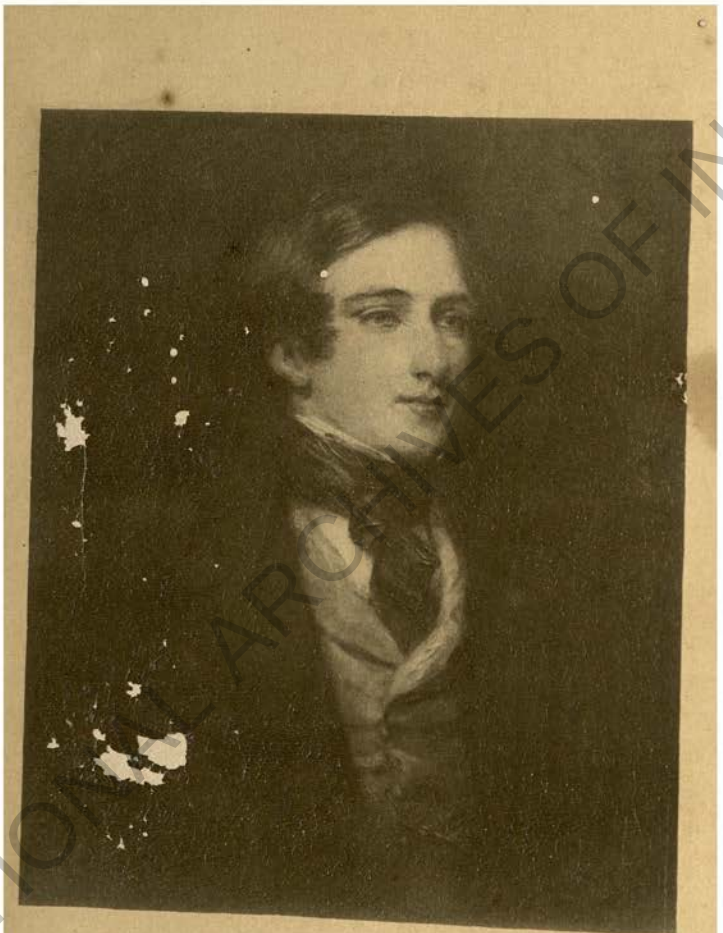

ETON COLLEGE . 1840.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Memoirs of Past Years

OF A

Septuagenarian.

PART I . . . TWENTY-ONE YEARS BEFORE INDIA.

PART II . . . TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN INDIA.

PART III . . . THIRTY-TWO YEARS AFTER INDIA.

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

LATE MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Ætat 78.

"There is a clock to each life's period wound,
"Whose steady hands with silent progress keep
"O'er hours and days and weeks their ceaseless sweep,
"Too oft unmarked. But when a year comes round
"That clock is heard to strike with solemn sound,
"And if this world's vain pleasures do not steep
"The heart's best feelings in oblivion's sleep,
"As by a spell of magic torpor bound,
"'T is roused by that impressive sound to ask,
"What part is done of my allotted task?
"What has this year produced of wholesome fruit?
"What noxious plant extracted by the root?
"What record do my hours, as swift they fly,
"Bear to the volumes of Eternity?"

JOHN MARRIOTT, *December* 8, 1822.

"His life was one great battle with old Time;
"From morn to eve, from youth to latest age,
"Ever he fought as only strong men fight."

"Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ
"Vita senis."

Printed for the Author for private circulation.

1899.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

HERTFORD
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TO MY FOUR CHILDREN,

MY GRANDCHILD,

AND THOSE THAT COME AFTER THEM,

THIS NARRATIVE OF THE WAY, IN WHICH MEN WORKED

IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA

IS

Dedicated.

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MATERIALS FOR COMPILATION.

I. Memoranda of events from 1821 to 1842 (Part I, Period I), prepared from original letters and notebooks in 1857.

II. Journal day by day, in fifteen quarto volumes, each volume under lock and key, from September 18, 1842, to the present day, made up at the close of each fortnight.

III. Life-Diary, in one folio volume, prepared in 1874 from the Journals, showing where I was on each day of my life after childhood was passed, and since that date made up monthly.

IV. Yearly Office and Business-Diaries since 1864 (Lett), showing every occupation and every private letter written, made up daily without fail.

V. Separate Volumes of each Foreign Tour, made up day by day to the close of the Tour, and copied into the Quarto Volumes of the Journal.

VI. Manuscript Catalogue of Books read, made up weekly, from 1859.

VII. Chronological list of writings from 1840 to 1898. Appendix I.

VIII. Three bound volumes of letters to my relatives from India, 1828–1866.

IX. Large Iron Chest of letters received by me in England and India from 1828 to 1898, arranged in classified folios.

X. Two Bound Volumes of Commonplace Extract Book from 1853. Prose and Poetry. Nos. I, II, with Indices.

XI. Reflections and Thoughts, 1868–1898.

XII. Catalogue of Languages represented by Books in my Oriental Library.

XIII. Books in the Officina:

(1) List of Books arranged according to subjects, twenty-one in number, before India was left in 1867.

(2) List of Books in restricted orbit of study from 1868.

I. LANGUAGE. II. RELIGION.

With list of subdivisions of subject, and books in each.

(3) Authors grouped according to subjects.

(4) Names of Oriental Scholars and Authors up to 1878.

(5) Index to Selections from Journals of Oriental Societies.

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XIV. Manuscript Notebooks from 1874 to 1898, in six volumes:
Videnda.
Agenda.
Notanda.
Quaerenda.
Legenda.
Visenda.

XV. Bound Collective Folio Volumes of:
(1) Obituary Notes. (Printed.)
(2) Sermons, Addresses, and Lectures delivered, 1877–1897. (MS.)
(3) Study of Languages. (MS.)
(4) Letters of thanks for Books and Pamphlets of my own writing presented to Libraries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Two large volumes.

XVI. Album of printed cuttings from Newspapers. (Quarto.)
(1) My own Miscellaneous Writings. 7 vols.
(2) Reviews and Notices on my Writings. 4 vols.
(3) Speeches and Addresses made by me, and reported by the Press.

XVII. List made from year to year of persons whom I have met. 1874–1898.
XVIII. Remarkable Customs.
XIX. Language Specimens.
XX. Personal Papers, four large folios.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE plan of my work is to throw together the History of a Life of nearly eighty years in ten Chapters: I. Boyhood and Youth. II. The first period of Exile in India. III. The second. IV. The third and last. V. Introductory Remarks to "After India." VI. The first decade of Life in England. VII. The second. VIII. The third. IX. The fourth. X. Concluding Remarks. My desire is to omit the first personal pronoun as much as possible, and to avoid the errors of some, whose lives are written by themselves, and of others, whose lives have been written by widows, sons, or devoted adherents. We can all recall the "Ego Ipsissimus" of the Civil Governor, and the "Ego et Exercitus meus" of the Warrior. Two errors are thus conspicuous: the writer is apt to make himself the pivot or mainspring, round which the whole of contemporary History revolved, while he was in fact only a fly on the wheel. The second error is, that he sees the events of his early life through the spectacles of the increased knowledge and experience of later years, and unconsciously infuses that knowledge into the narrative of his earlier career.

Some servants of the State have not left a printed line behind them, while some have wielded the pen to the last hour. Some had not the gift of writing, but they had the greater gift of 'acting': to some very few it has been conceded to do acts worthy of record, and to record them so as to charm future generations. Xenophon, and Julius Cæsar, will suggest themselves. It would have been better for some, if their Memoirs had not been written, or if they had not survived the ravages of time. The story of the two Kings of Israel, David and his son Solomon, might suggest to some to note in their wills: "Please do not write my life."

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Some servants of the State had no literary tastes ; the Newspapers were their sole intellectual pabulum : others were more fortunate and had scientific resources. I recollect a time, when I was much worried by my superior officers, and subordinates, and I used to get away to my Sanskrit studies, whence I could defy them, for they could not read the written characters of my book, or criticize what I did, or understand what I was after.

Some servants of the State have loved God with their whole heart from their youth up : this is the best of all gifts, that can be given to man ; better than titles, better than wealth, better than favour and honour among men, more especially, if they had the Grace given to them to love their fellow-creatures also. Such was James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces 1844–1852, at whose feet I sat in my youth. Some seem never to have known God : from the misfortune of their Education, or their early social environments, they seem to have thought nothing of their own Souls, and the relation of those Souls to God. In many Memoirs of successful men there is no single expression of gratitude to Him, by whose Grace they were permitted to prosper, when so many fell around them : they did not express it, perhaps they did not feel it.

Some servants of the State were cut off before they reached fifty years : some were tried by tedious illness, small means, or domestic misery : there was no happy English home, no sphere of usefulness in Great Britain reserved for them : let those, to whom such blessings have been conceded, be thankful, and deal gently with the failings of others.

A life to be of practical advantage to one's self, must be recorded day by day. The Fear of God, Faith in Christ, and constant Communion with the Holy Spirit, make up the only true Wisdom. Our days on Earth pass as a watch in the night, and, unless we have these three blessings, we are poor indeed.

But to the writer of this Memoir, by God's Grace, thirty years of active and useful life and vigorous study, and copious publication of the outcome of study, have been conceded after the blight of his brilliant

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prospects in India, and his sad destiny of creeping home a hopeless and disappointed man under a second domestic bereavement. He did not recognize the Hand, the kind Hand, of God *then*: he does most fully *now*. His services were not wanted in India; there were plenty there to do the work, which he proposed to do. A new sphere was opened out beyond the limits of India, and beyond his widest dream of possibility. The object now is to note the details of this new sphere for the benefit of others, whose professional occupations are concluded: for nothing is so injurious to body, mind, or soul, as an objectless life, made up of eating, drinking, idleness, or worse. Life is real; life is earnest: and those, who are permitted to live, must show themselves worthy of existence. The arena of the writer's studies, and the sphere of his occupation, from 1843 to the present year, have been the following:

A. STUDIES.

(1) The Religions of Mankind, of all Ages, Regions, and Races.
(2) The Languages of Mankind within the same limits.
(3) The Study of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures from every point of view.
(4) History in its widest sense.
(5) The Geography of the whole Globe.

B. OCCUPATION.

(1) The administration of Indian Provinces, or the Art of Ruling subject Nations firmly, yet kindly.
(2) Councils, Boards, and Committees of affairs, Secular and Religious.
(3) Public utterances on Platforms and in Pulpits.
(4) Attendance at International Oriental and Geographical Congresses in all the Capitals of Europe.
(5) A wide correspondence in several languages.
(6) Compilation of Volumes for publication in connection with above-mentioned studies.

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(7) Contributing papers to seventy different Periodicals, spread over fifty years, of different size and importance, in several languages, and in far distant countries.

Physical Science, with the exception of Geography, has been kept clear of, not from any disparagement of those studies, but from the necessity of recollecting that "Ars longa est, sed vita brevis": "Non multa sed multum."

A vast number of books of ancient and modern time, coming from the Orient and the Occident, had to be read, and copious notes made: the labour of splitting straws, and quarrelling about the meaning of words, were avoided. The course of Christian Belief was traced from its cradle in Galilee, and, when stripped of mediæval accretions, was found sufficient. Some questions too hard for solution in this Century were left to the Twentieth.

Intellectually Humanity cleaves to Idolatry, in one form or another, and each one of us worships, where our favourite Divinities in Literature crowd the shelves of our bookcase. But our grandest creations are not the Picture, the Statue, or the Book, which the World at large handles, but the invisible Ideals, which Imagination keeps, at least the best of them, locked up in the workshop of the brain. *What Gallery or Library can rival the sublime and beautiful images, that crowd the labyrinth of the brain in its dreams by day, or meditations by night?*

The last quarter of a Century has been marked by wonderful and wholly unexpected progress in all the five main subjects, and the object has been to keep abreast of them, or, more than that, to float on the foremost wave, enjoying the theoretic speculations preceding actual discoveries. The course of the River Kongo, the origin of the Phenician Alphabet, the secret of Grammatical Inflection, the interpretation of the Assyrian, Median, and old Persian Inscriptions, the whole history of the Egyptian, Brahmanical, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, and Confucian, forms of Belief or Practice, were once mysterious, and are so no longer. The Bible is not valued less now than in 1843, but it is understood better.

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And, indeed, seventy-eight years since the Fourth George ascended the Throne have witnessed an intellectual, spiritual, political, scientific, commercial, transformation of the Round World. We can hardly believe, that certain things were possible, when we were boys, as they appear so contrary to Equity and Decency now.

The writer has been a careful observer of this Progress in certain departments, with his Notebook always in his pocket; a fearless inquirer, and yet a downright believer in the Christian Dispensation, one who calls a spade a spade, and has not been held back by sentimental feelings from exposing an abuse, or unveiling a pious fraud. If he has not, like so many of his contemporaries, left any footsteps on the sands of time, still the echoes of past years, and the memories of lost friends, live around him in his age's lateness. Knowledge comes from studious reading, calm reflection, active employment, and contact with men of all degrees of culture; and from his youth up his lot has been cast in such an environment, and he feels deeply grateful for a life of active usefulness; for unselfish exertions in the Service of God, and the Human race, alone create a healthy and happy life, the thought of which brings Peace at the last.

Special among all Arts is the Art of governing subject races, so-called inferior races, firmly, kindly, sympathetically, with a love for [redacted] personally, and a sympathy with their real interests, Moral, [redacted]erial, and Spiritual.

My long residence in India filled me with an intense love for, and [redacted]est in, the people of India, and a desire, that the system of [redacted]inistration, adopted by the British Government, should be as perfect [redacted] sympathetic as possible. I commenced my career under James [redacted]ason, who first impressed me with the conviction, that a righteous [redacted]nment must be in the interest of the people governed, and not [redacted] alien interloper. To him succeeded Major George Broadfoot, [redacted]nry Lawrence, Major Mackeson, and Sir Donald McLeod, all of [redacted]met violent deaths in battle, siege, by the hand of the assassin, [redacted]ay accident; but the Master, whose principles were adopted as

my own, and whose steps were faithfully followed to the last, was John Lord Lawrence. I took part in the Administration of newly conquered Provinces, witnessed the decay of the old system, or want of system, of Native States, and marked the defects. For three years I was in charge of a District in Bandelkand in the North-West Provinces, which had been mismanaged, and over-assessed by British Officers, and I marked the defects of the British system also. In the first year of the annexation of the Panjáb I visited every District of that Province, and Kashmír, and ten years afterwards I made a second tour of inspection. A few years later I visited every District of the North-West Provinces. I held in these two Provinces the post of the highest Revenue Officer, and in the Panjáb of the highest Judicial Officer also. I think that I thoroughly mastered the system of the two great Provinces of Northern India.

To satisfy myself how Oriental Provinces were governed by other European Powers, I have twice visited the Empire of Turkey, with an eye to their Judicial and Revenue System, made a careful inspection of Egypt, of the Russian Provinces south of the Caucasus, and of the French Colonies of Algeria and Tunisia, and of the Kingdom of Morocco. As I have always committed to Press at the very time my impressions, as they were formed, I have before me a certain amount of contemporaneous evidence to enable a final judgment to be arrived [illegible]

India always, and at all places, comes to my mind, and the Mat[illegible] and duties of the British Nation. We are a little too sensitive o[illegible] and seem not sufficiently to allow, that other Nations have inter[illegible] right to annex, and subdue, and establish Protectorates, as we [illegible] ourselves: our bounden duty should be to exhibit an ever-incre[illegible] aptitude for the Administration of subject races, as if we were ste[illegible] for their welfare, and not only seeking our own interests, and the exp[illegible] of our own Commerce.

In very notable words a great Statesman in 1833 in the H[illegible] Commons laid down our duty: "The path of duty is plain be[illegible] "it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity and [illegible]

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" honour : to have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of " misery and superstition, and to have so ruled them, as to make them " desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would be a title " to glory, *all our own.* The Empire may pass away from us, but " there are triumphs, which are followed by no reverses : there is an " Empire, exempt from all natural causes of decay : the pacific triumphs " of reason over barbarism ; the imperishable Empire of our Arts, our " Morals, our Literature, and our Law."

More than twenty years later the Queen in her Proclamation, 1857, stated : " We hold ourselves bound to the natives of Indian territory by " the same obligation of duty, which binds us to our other subjects : our " subjects of whatever race or creed shall be freely and impartially " admitted to Offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be " qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

" In their prosperity will be our strength ; in their contentment our " security ; in their gratitude our best reward."

Have we acted up to these noble words? My judgment is, that we have striven to do so more than any other conquering and superior Power, either in ancient or modern times. I am not the paid advocate of the Government of India. I have little for which to thank it. Owing to the non-completion of a few months of Residence in India, I forfeited my Retiring Pension, and, though I served the State energetically in Peace and War, Rebellion and Pacification, in the Field, in the Public Office, and in the Council Chamber, I received no honour of any kind My opinion is therefore the more unbiassed, and it is this : that our Administration has been based on Justice, Moderation, and Sympathy with the People : that we have to an extent far exceeding that of the Governments of Russia and France, and the wretched, ignorant, mal-administration of Turkey, consulted the true interests of the people, and stayed the hands of the alien interloper, who would have confiscated the lands of the landowner to satisfy his Earth-greed : that we have no Prison full of Political offenders, and no Military tyranny : that the Natives may go where they like, do what they like, speak what they

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like, and write what they like, within the reasonable provisions of the Law, which is the same to all, high or low, rich or poor, Native or alien : that the Officials are paid for their work, and supervised in their work, are restrained from corruption and oppression, and can speak the Vernaculars of the people : that there is Toleration in the fullest extent, actively and passively, in deed as well as letter, to every form of Religious Belief or Unbelief, each soul being left in individual uncontrolled responsibility to its Creator : that children succeed without question to the inheritance of their parents : that every section of the vast population enjoys its own Law, or Custom having the force of Law, in all matters regarding Marriage and Inheritance : that the blessings of a Free Press are enjoyed by all, whether European, or Native, subject only to the reasonable Law of Libel against Private Characters : that though the Government of the Country is as regards Religious tenets entirely colourless, its Christian Servants are not afraid, or ashamed, to let it be known, that they are Christians in Morals, Habits, and the outward profession of their Faith, and would scorn even the semblance of conforming to any non-Christian custom : that all the great triumphs of Civilization and Education, and a great portion of Municipal privileges, are freely imparted by the great Power, which governs, to the great Country, which is governed. I would particularly ask "Young India," who blusters for Home-Rule, and Political independence, to consider, whether such aspirations are not a dream, and whether he would gain much, after years of blood and confusion, in being transferred to France or Russia.

I would ask the Roman Catholic, or Protestant, Missionary, whether in any other country in the world he has such liberty of Preaching, Teaching, and Itinerating, without fear of a blustering Magistrate, or a fanatical Mob. I would ask him to keep himself to his own Sacred duties, and refrain from expressing opinions upon subjects, which he is not qualified to understand, such as the Administrative system of a vast Empire, and the time-honoured and innocent Family-Customs of a great People.

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Finally, the Men of Commerce, the Agricultural Speculator, and all that class of Europeans, who are described without offence as alien interlopers, birds of passage, and shakers of the Pagoda-tree, are asked to reflect, whether in any other country of the world they enjoy such liberty of locomotion, sojourning, buying, and selling. If they are prepared to become domiciled in India, they will have the same rights as all other subjects of the Empress of India to take a part in the control of public affairs; but, if they are only sojourners for a few years, they have no more right to interfere in the conduct of affairs of British India than a Canadian or Australian has in the Parliament of Great Britain.

Attached to this Life-Memoir is a series of Appendices:

I. Chronological List of Writings from 1834 to 1899, exceeding Twelve Hundred in Number.

II. Contributions to Calcutta Review, 1846–1899. (Fifty in Fifty-four Years.)

III. Contributions to Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1879–1899. (Fifty in Twenty Years.)

IV. List of Periodicals to which Contributions have been made, 1840–1899. (Seventy-one in Sixty Years.)

V. List of Appointments under Government held in India, 1844–1867. (Twenty-three Years.)

VI. List of Committees, Boards, and Councils, on which service has been given, 1872–1899. (Twenty-seven Years.)

VII. List of Languages, of which the Writer has Working Knowledge.

VIII. List of Honorary Appointments held without Emolument.

IX. List of Foreign Tours in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and Voyages to India and Back.

X. List of Congresses, of which there has been Membership.

XI. List of Communications made by the Writer to those Congresses.

XII. List of Institutions, in which Lectures have been given.

XIII. List of Foreign Languages, in which the Works of the Writer have been Translated.

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XIV. (1) British and Foreign Towns, in which Addresses have been given.
(2) Number of Speeches, Addresses, Lectures, and Sermons, delivered after Return from India, 1877–1899. (Twenty-three Years.)

XV. Sermons preached in the Diocese of London.

XVI. London Clubs, 1851–1893.

XVII. Scientific Societies, of which Membership has existed.

XVIII. Religious, Missionary, and Benevolent, Societies, of which Membership has existed.

XIX. Poems written, 1841–1898.

XX. Medals and other Tokens of Honour.

XXI. Persons of Note, whom I have met and conversed with.

XXII. Public Events and Remarkable Sights.

A question arose as to the name, which should be given to this work: to "Autobiography" there is a decided objection; it is rather Egotistic in idea, and very much so in execution.

Then the idea occurred as to borrowing from the "Meditations" of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius the name of that Immortal Book. In Rendal's Edition, 1898, page cxliii of the Introduction, we find the following words:

"Thou art an old man: thy life is all but finished; its tale is "fully told, and its service accomplished: it remains, while the power "of mind and body still hold on, to adjust yourself, as in the presence of "Death, for reunion with God. Life's day has been laborious, and its "setting grey and solitary."

Marcus Aurelius' "Meditations" apparently belong to the privacy of the closet: the dedication is

"*Εἰς Ἑαυτον.*" ("To Himself.")

But it can scarcely be said, that they were intended for no eye, and no ear, but his own: if so, why did the dying Emperor of the European

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World leave such a Manuscript on his table, unless it were intended to be read and published for the delight and edification of future generations? The World would have been indeed poorer without the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius, the "Confessions" of Augustine of Hippo, and the "Imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis.

On the whole it was felt, that this book was not worthy of the honour of being called "The Meditations," and the simple name of "Life-Memoir" was selected.

As in my solitary tent fifty or forty years ago in India, so in my Study or Committee-Room in England, I have always realized as existing in myself the component parts of two totally distinct existences, (1) the severely practical attitude of the official, (2) the romantically free thought of the day-dreamer. My Notebook was always in my pocket, whether on the horse, the elephant, or the camel, or the boat, or in the horse vehicle, or the dooley, the omnibus, or railway train; and thus my published writings, prose and verse, are all dated, and extend from 1840 to 1898, and by a singular chance I have had the same Printers, Father and Sons, in the first of these years and the last. As, in Appendix I, each one of these writings is chronicled under its own date, I have at the foot of each page of the Life-Memoir noted the particular Essay or Poem written at that particular time, in order to show the continuousness of my literary work. An Essay on Baba Nanak was written in camp in the village, where the great Prophet lived. The description of a District during a Rebellion was put to paper in the very Station, Allahabad, where the events narrated happened. Some of the Poems were chanted from the back of an elephant, or jotted down in a crowded Katchery, while litigants were grossly abusing each other, and lying to their heart's content, in the Urdu Language. Literary work was the one charm amidst highly paid official duties in India, and the joy of the enfranchised middle-aged man, who had done his day's paid work, in England, and who still could not hold back from doing a day's hard work for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, even though without remuneration.

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An illustrious deceased friend recorded the following note, in 1864, on the Study of Oriental Languages: "The opinion, which has impressed me "most is that of the distinguished Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb. "'Life,' says Mr. Cust, 'is short: Art is long: in this, as in other things, "we must have a minimum for the many, and a maximum for the few. "We must not waste the precious years of a man's life between twenty "and twenty-three years, when he is able to acquire anything, and what "he acquires remains for his life. I am no opponent of Oriental "studies. I devoted my youth to them, and studied with success all "the five languages alluded to, Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Urdu, and "Bengáli, and Arabic in addition; but I sometimes wish now, that I had "studied the Roman Law, and been content with the Hindu Law in "English translations, instead of following up dead Orientals *beyond* "*a certain point.* I wish others to avoid my error.'"—Life and Speeches of Sir Henry Maine, p. 432. (John Murray, 1892.)

Charles Dickens gives this character of himself ("David Copperfield," cap. xlii), fifty years ago: "Perseverance and patient and continuous "energy began to be matured within me, and became the strong part "of my character, and the *source of my success.*

"I have been very fortunate in worldly matters: many men have "worked much harder, and not succeeded half so well; but I never "could have done what I have done without the habits of PUNCTUALITY, "ORDER, and DILIGENCE, without the determination to concentrate "myself *on one object at a time*, no matter how quickly its successor "should come upon its heels."

"Whatever I have tried to do in life, I have tried with all my "heart to do well; to whatever I devoted myself to, I have devoted "myself to completely; in great aims and in small I have always been "thoroughly in earnest. I have never believed it possible, that any "natural or improved ability can claim immunity from the companion-"ship of the *steady, plain, hard-working* qualities, and hope to gain "its end."

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His golden rule was:

(1) "Never to put one hand to anything on which I could throw my whole self.

(2) "Never to affect depreciation of my work, whatever it was."

This exactly describes the principle and practice of the subject of these Memoirs: if a great and difficult work has to be done there are some men, who will accomplish it, and some who are not able to do so: this is the secret of success, rapid promotion, and reputation.

I was called the 'outspoken,' and the 'counter-irritant' of the Governor of the Province, forty years ago: I accept the compliment; I meant to be so. I give my authority for being so:

"Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, "lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure "himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. "Let him duly realize the fact, that opinion is the agency, through "which character adapts external arrangements to itself; that his "opinion rightly forms part of this agency, is a unit of force, con-"stituting, with other such units, the general power, which works out "social changes; and he will perceive, that he may properly give full "utterance to his innermost conviction, leaving it to produce what "effect it may."

HERBERT SPENCER: *Reconciliation.*

"I am convinced, that we do best honour the founder of Christianity, "not by His imitation, but by participation in His spirit of original "insight, spontaneity, and personal independence; by the effort nobly to "live our own lives, to perfect our own personality after its kind and "according to its opportunities, even as He developed and perfected His."

DR. LEWIS G. JANES: *Life as a Fine Art* (Brooklyn Ethical Association).

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PART I.

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Chapter I.

PERIOD I.

Early Days in England: Twenty-one Years, 1821–1842.

In September, 1842, I commenced my Journal, which I have since that time kept up to date in fifteen quarto volumes. Between that period and my birth on February 24, 1821, there are twenty-one years and a half, which may be divided thus:

(1) Childhood, 1821–1828, in which year I went to School.
(2) Boyhood, 1828–1840, in which year I left Eton College.
(3) Youth, 1840–1842, in which year I left England.

My parents were the Hon. and Rev. Henry Cockayne Cust, brother of Earl Brownlow, and Lady Anna Maria Elizabeth Needham, sister of the Earl of Kilmorey. The only advantage of an ancient lineage is, that an additional motive is supplied for keeping clear of all that is mean and shabby, dishonest, and mendacious. *Noblesse oblige* has a wide meaning. The Chinaman by noble service to his Country is credited with the honour of ennobling his ancestors: the Englishman, if he happens to know with certainty, that his ancestors had lived in good repute through four or five centuries, tries not to bring disrepute on them, remembering the stinging lines of Juvenal, viii, 138:

> "Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
> Nobilitas, claramque facem praeferre pudendis."

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My place of birth was my father's estate, Cockayne Hatley, Bedfordshire. I went to a Private School September, 1828, and to Eton College January, 1834, where I was six and a half years, and during the last year was Captain of the Oppidans. I had the honour of being flogged by Dr. Keate, who was Head-master when I entered, and to have been sent up "for good and for play" twenty-two times by Dr. Hawtrey, who succeeded Dr. Keate. I sat for the Newcastle-Scholarship four times, and was in "the select": on the fourth occasion, 1840, William Ewart Gladstone, then called "the Hope of England," and his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, were the Examiners. I sat two years for the Balliol Scholarship at Oxford, and heard John Henry Newman, then a Protestant, preach in St. Mary's, at Oxford. King William IV and Queen Adelaide used to come to Speeches, and to Surley Hall, and Ad Montem. I rowed No. 9 in the Ten Oar in the Summer of 1840, and played in one or two cricket-matches in the Upper Shooting Fields, but I had no taste for athletics.

Another event occurred to me at Eton; my eldest Sister died in 1836: the first death in a family is never forgotten.

In 1840, at the age of 19, I published my first book, "The Eton Addresses." King William IV came to Speeches at Eton six times, 1831–1836, and on each occasion a Poetic Address was composed by one of the Sixth Form, and delivered *vivâ voce*. It occurred to me to collect copies, which was no easy task, and to print them at Eton. I was present at the Coronation of King William IV and Queen Adelaide in Westminster Abbey, at the Funeral of King William IV in Windsor Chapel, and at the Coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey. I saw Queen Victoria at Salt Hill on the occasion of the last celebration of "Ad Montem." I had been entered in Trinity College, Cambridge, on Dr. Perry's side, with a view of taking my Degree, and being called to the Bar; but the offer of an appointment in the Indian Civil Service altered the plan of my life, and in 1840 I left Eton and went to the

"Eton Addresses," 1830–1836.

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East India College, Haileybury, Hertfordshire. It is something, for which a man may thank his Parents, that he was sent to one of the best and greatest Schools in England, especially as he belonged to the sixth generation of a family, who had been Etonians, as duly recorded on a brass plate in the College Chapel. If the battle of Waterloo was won on Eton playing-fields, so may other battles of life have been won there in different worldly vocations, as the outcome of precepts learnt, and examples witnessed, at the Public School, where the dawning intellect passed from boyhood at 13 to manhood at 19. The boy, who refuses to betray his comrade, or who resists temptation to do something morally wrong, says to himself: "I am an Etonian, and I cannot lend myself to fraud, treachery, cowardice, or any other form of moral baseness." A Christian may have higher motives, but a man of the world may be helped in his course by the principles learnt in his Tutor's pupil-room, and in association with his fellows.

As I had left Eton College as Captain of the Oppidans, so I left Haileybury College 'Senior' of the College, with gold medals, and scores of volumes as prizes. I had a strong Constitution, Industry, and Talents, and after the lapse of fifty-six years I feel grateful for them, for without them no success can be attained, or maintained. I felt mortified and humiliated in the presence of my Etonian contemporaries, when I met them at Eton on the 4th of June, or at Lord's Cricket Ground, by the necessity of exchanging an English for an Indian Career, but I do not regret it now. 'Conduct' was the fourth essential in a young man's career, and I was fortunate enough to realize the Horatian maxim:

"Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est" (*Ep.*, I, xvii, 35);

and when gradually, though not yet thirty years of age, I found myself helping to rule Millions in their hundreds of towns and thousands of villages, the lines of Virgil came back to me:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

Æneid, vi, 852.

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At College, as in the Higher Classes at Eton, I had noble companions, antagonists, and rivals, many of whom have been my life-friends, and from my earliest years I felt the desire

"*Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων*" (Homer: *Iliad*, vi, 208);

and the desire was partly granted.

At Haileybury College, 1840–42, I was a contributor in Prose and Verse to the weekly Periodical, called the *Haileybury Observer*. During the three last terms I was one of the Editors. It brings tears into my eyes after the lapse of fifty-six years to read utterances such as these:

"Commit to paper thoughts so pure, so high,
"That men will not forget them, when you die:
"Sixty years hence to read them, what a joy!
"'I'm glad I wrote like this, when still a boy.'"

Poems of Many Years and Many Places,
Second Series, 1897, p. 54.

The Study of Language has been the companion of my life, and I left England in 1842 with a knowledge of the following forms of speech, their Grammatical Features, and their Literature:

DEAD.
Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Hebrew.

LIVING.
English, French, German, Italian, Urdu or Hindustáni, Persian, and Arabic.

Before I left England I attended the marriage of my Cousin Viscount Alford with Lady Marian Compton, daughter of the Marquess of Northampton. He died in 1851. All who were present then have passed away, except my old school-friend, Lord Alwyne Compton, the Bishop of Ely. At the wedding-breakfast I was introduced to the

Haileybury Observer, 1840–1842.

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Poet Samuel Rogers, Author of "Pleasures of Memory," under the unduly flattering description of being one of the Poets of the Future, as I was from Eton Sixth Form, and with a memory stored with Greek, Latin, and English Poetry.

Other branches of knowledge had not been neglected. The New Testament in Greek was as familiar to me as in English; and I had by the Grace of God strong Religious convictions, though imperfect, and this kept me from the snares into which many of my contemporaries fell.

I had in 1841 visited with my Father all the great cities of Germany. While at Vienna I saw the old Emperor of Austria, Ferdinand (who abdicated in 1848), going to Chapel, and in the garden of Schönbrunn I suddenly came face to face with his sister, the Empress Marie Louise, widow of Napoleon the First. At Potsdam I saw the Emperor Frederick, then a little boy, playing in the garden of his Father, who was then Prince William of Prussia, both unconscious of the great destiny which awaited them. In private parties at Leamington I had met Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, who was not much thought of then, though, when I came back from India the second time, he had developed into Napoleon the Third, and was on a visit at Windsor Castle. While at Eton in 1837 I saw Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, and Prince Talleyrand. At Rome I attended High Mass in the Sistine Chapel, and saw Pope Gregory XVI and Cardinal Mezzofanti, *then* considered a great linguist, but his knowledge would not count for much now.

In 1842, on my road to India, I visited all the great cities of Italy, embarking for Alexandria at Naples, *viâ* Malta. I took leave of my Parents and Sisters January 6, 1843. They had accompanied me to Naples. During my month's stay there I went to Balls, and at one saw the King of Naples, known as King Bomba, dancing in red trousers. In a few years his dynasty was swept away. I also, with a guide ascended Mount Vesuvius, went down into the crater, and saw the flames raging: there was an eruption soon afterwards.

Several of my contemporaries of 1842 had gone round the Cape of Good Hope in the steamer "Hindustán." On arrival at Calcutta it was

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to work its way to Suez, the first P. and O. steamer on that now well-known line. It had been arranged, that I should meet that steamer on a certain date at Suez, but on my arrival in Egypt I found, that there would be a delay of one month, which was most acceptable. I seized the opportunity to engage a Mahometan Mullah, and steadily read with his help right through the Koran in Arabic, for which I have ever been grateful. We met at the Table d'Hôte Anglo-Indians returning home, and among them General England, who had commanded the British force, which advanced to Candahar by the Bolan Pass in the first Afghan War.

These were the days of Mahomet Pasha, and his son Ibrahim Pasha, and the ancient men of several European Nations, who were good to me in my boyhood, have long passed away, and are forgotten, and their literary works also. I went up the Nile to Memphis with Eliot Warburton, the author of an interesting book, "The Crescent and the Cross." I was with the great German Egyptologist, Lepsius, at the Pyramids, and took my first lesson in Hieroglyphics: he, at least, is not forgotten. I climbed the outside, and penetrated into the inside, of all the three Pyramids, as far as was possible. With other young men I wandered over these wonderful Regions, almost unknown in Europe then. I have often visited Egypt since, but never with such rapture and unbounded delight. The Nile was scarcely known then beyond Dóngola.

"Nile pater quânam possum te dicere causâ
Et quibus in terris occuluisse caput?"

We knew, then, very little more than the Latin Poet did, when he wrote these lines 2,000 years earlier. Cairo had not been Europeanized then. I used to attend the Slave-Market to see Slaves, male and female, sold, to peep with wonder into Mosques and Mahometan tombs, and to practise my Arabic on the Inscriptions: all this is stale work now. I witnessed a party of travellers starting on camels for Mount Sinai, including Dr. Wilson, the well-known Scotch Missionary of Bombay, and a young Etonian friend: how I envied them! When

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the time came to go to Suez, we had to travel on donkeys, and made four stages: one to the Rest-House a quarter of the way, for midday rest; one to the half-way Rest-House, to pass the night as best we could; the third to the Rest-House three-quarters of the way; and the fourth to a miserable Public-house at Suez, whence we were glad to see the "Hindustán" steam-vessel just arrived: the time had not come for Vans in the Desert, or Railways, or the Suez Canal. Another month's supply of passengers had overtaken us, and we went on board the steamer in a great crowd, on February 25, 1843, the day after my birthday: the novelty of the Red Sea was delightful. We landed at Aden March 3, and found new wonders, at Point de Galle in Ceylon March 14, at Madras March 20, and reached Calcutta on the 24th:

"longae finis chartaeque viaeque."

Many dear friends, some dead long ago, and some still alive, came on board to welcome us, and invited us to their houses. Then began my Indian Career, and I found myself in receipt of £400 per annum, paid monthly, from the day of landing: these were the days of good John Company, and the Rupee was worth two shillings and a fraction.

"Omnia mutantur: nos et mutamur in illis."

I must have been a good correspondent, for I have before me quarto volumes of bound letters, with 160 in each volume: long, serious, letters to Father, Mother, Sisters, Grandmother, Uncles, Aunts, Cousins, etc.: the old-fashioned quarto sheet, written on three sides, with two turns-up on the fourth side. All their replies to me, which were in hundreds, perished with the rest of my property at Banda during the Mutinies of 1857. There are contrasts to this *cacoéthes scribendi*, for it chanced that I succeeded in the charge of the Ambála District to an officer, who died suddenly. Long after his death a single letter used to come to his

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address by each English mail: when six had accumulated, I ventured to open one, and found that it was from his Mother. I wrote to her at once: a reply came, that her son had never written to her once since he left her ten years ago, but she had not neglected her duty, and wrote regularly. I wrote a paper on this incident called "The Box of Indian Letters."

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 219.

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PART II.

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Chapter II.

PERIOD II.

Exile in India. No. I: 1843–1851.

(1) College of Fort William, 1843–44.
(2) First Public Employment, 1844.
(3) Invasion and War, 1845–46.
(4) My first District, 1846–50.
(5) A great Tour in North India, 1850.
(6) The Exile returns home for the first time, 1851.

On my arrival at Calcutta I reported myself at the College of Fort William with a view of obtaining certificates of knowledge of Languages, which preceded employment. I passed in the Urdu Language within a week of landing, as I had mastered that at Haileybury. I rather desired to stay in the Bengál Province, so I set to at the Bengáli Language, and my knowledge of Sanskrit enabled me to pass in that Language the following month. I could then have taken an office, but there was fascination in the Society of Calcutta. I was encouraged to read for Honours in Languages, and I passed the test of High Proficiency in Urdu and Sanskrit with a gratuity of £80 in each, and a degree of Honour in Persian with a gratuity of £160. Gold medals and certificates were added as legitimate rewards, and I possess them, but I presented a certain part of the money grant of the Persian Degree to the Sanskrit College, and money grants were made to deserving Native

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Scholars. I lived in a comfortable house in Chowringhi with College friends. My eldest brother, Henry, paid me a visit October 17th to November 5th; he went up country, and was present at the battle of Maharajpúr, in the Kingdom of Gwalior. I find in a letter to my friends at home an expression of a hope, that I should never witness a pitched battle. I altered my mind, when I had next year got up country, and smelt powder. I suppose that there is something infectious or contagious in military ardour, for I found myself very keen on the subject of pitched battles, and took part in three: Múdki, Ferozshahr, and Sobráon.

I had brought with me a letter of introduction to the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, and he was very kind to me. I had been taken by an Uncle to call on him in London before he left England. I attended the funeral-service over the headless body of Sir William McNaghten, which had been brought down from Kábul, where he had been killed. The head of the poor man, with spectacles on his nose, which had been stuck up on the City of Kábul gates, was recovered and sent to his widow a year later at Simla. I made the acquaintance of several men, who were my friends for many years afterwards, up to the time of their death: Henry Rawlinson, then on his road to Baghdad, where he copied the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Behistún; James Thomason, one of my dearest friends and patrons; Frederick Currie, with whom I came in close contact during the Panjáb campaign; Henry Durand, Cecil Beadon, and others.

I made the acquaintance of General Avitábile, the French General of Ranjít Singh's Army in the Panjáb: he was on his road home. I was honoured with the friendship of Dr. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, and from his revered lips I received my first lesson of the duty, imposed upon all Christians, to try to evangelize the Non-Christian world by Christian methods of kindness, argument, and distribution of the Bible in Vernacular Languages. This was in 1843, and I never forgot that lesson; it became the very joy of my life, and is so to this day.

I went down into the Cuttack District, and was present at an exciting

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Buffalo-hunt, but I never cared for field-sports. In Calcutta I witnessed the disgusting sight of the swinging of Hindu devotees by hooks passed through their skin under their shoulder-blades. I found Calcutta very hospitable, and more than once stayed with Lord Ellenborough at his country house at Barrackpúr.

Perhaps I lingered too long in Calcutta, and the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, thought so too, for one day I received a letter from His Lordship, ordering my instant departure, and in *The Gazette* I was appointed Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in the Cis-Satlaj States, the very best appointment, that I could possibly receive. The River Satlaj at that time was the boundary of North India. The only mode of transit on this journey of many hundred miles to Ambála, where I was ordered to report myself, was by Palanquin, born on men's shoulders: there were no carriages, or roads, or Railways. On May 1, 1844, I left Calcutta with my two friends, Lieut. Hotham and Lieut. Bird, who happened to be joining their Regiments up country (both died early), and we formed a party, stopping for our meals at Dawk Bungalows, but travelling day and night, as our bearers were changed at the regular halting-places. Thus I reached Gya on the 8th, Banáras on the 11th, Allahabád on the 18th, Dehli on June 14, Karnál on the 23rd, and Ambála on June 24. I had found friends at every Station, the majority of whom have died long, long ago, but one or two are still alive.

At Ambála I settled down in the empty official house, in a large park, known as the "Padisháhi Bagh," and commenced real work, Judicial and Revenue, under the orders of the District-Officer, Major Leach, who had served in the Afghan War. I paid a visit of a few days to the Hill-Stations of Simla, and Kussoulie, making the acquaintance of Lord Napier of Mágdala, then Barrack-Master of Ambála, and many others: some rose to fame; some died in their youth, and are forgotten. One evening as I was sitting alone on the roof of my house, the Overland Mail of May, 1844, was placed in my hands by my Native Servant, and I read the news of the death of my second Sister, the companion of my life up to the last hour of leaving home. Fifty-four years have

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passed since that day, but the shock given to me then is not forgotten. I wrote a sad Poem on the subject, which is printed in my collection of Poems. On October 30 a new Agent to the Governor-General for the North-West Frontier took charge of his office at Ambála, George Broadfoot: I was appointed his Personal Assistant, and never left him till he was killed on December 21 the following year. We were always in camp, visiting Ferozpúr, Ludiána, and the chief towns of the Native Protected Chiefs. I was deputed on one memorable occasion to pay a visit to the aged ex-King of Afghanistan, Shah Zemán, who in the beginning of this Century had threatened an invasion of India; in course of time he had been superseded by his brother, Shah Shúja, who after the first Afghan War of 1838 became King of Afghanistan. His elder brother had taken refuge at Ludiána, in a small house, and with narrow means, and there I found him: the old man was seated crossed leg on a square cushion, and I had to stand before him, as no one was allowed to sit in his presence. I asked him certain questions in Persian, listened to his replies in the same language, and left him.

"He sate in his age's lateness,
Like a vision throned, and a solemn mark
Of the frailty of Human Greatness."

The prospect of war with the Sovereign of the Panjáb was getting very close, and all the dispatches to the Governor-General were copied by my own hand from the MSS. of my Chief, and all the Persian letters from our Native Agents were translated by me, to be forwarded to Calcutta. Thus entire secrecy was maintained, as both Broadfoot and myself were perfectly familiar with that language. I completed my twenty-fourth year in the midst of these overpoweringly interesting circumstances. On March 23, 1845, a party of Sikhs actually crossed the Satlaj, but we attacked them at once, captured some of them, and one man was killed: this was the first shot of the great Sikh War, and the first, but not the last time, that I smelt powder.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," p. 13 (1887).

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During the Summer-months we lived in Broadfoot's house at Simla: the work was heavy, but the environment, social as well as official, was charming. We saw a great deal of Sir Hugh Gough, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Robert Sale, and their staffs. Owing to the death of Major Leach I was placed in temporary charge of the District of Ambála in addition to my ordinary duties, but all Civil work gave way suddenly, when on December 9 the Sikh Army crossed the Satlaj, and laid siege to Ferozpúr. Sir Henry Hardinge, the new Governor-General, had reached Ambála: he was an old family-friend, and his two sons, Charles and Arthur, both on his staff, were my old Eton school-friends. During the months which followed I lived as a member of their family. It is vain to enter into detail. We all pushed on to the frontier, and reached Bussean on the 14th. I accompanied a Cavalry Regiment, which marched in advance all night, as Civil officer to communicate with the Chief, who knew me, and provided supplies. From Bussean we moved up to Múdki, where on the 18th of December the first battle was fought. I was told to stick close to the Governor-General, but the old warrior went into the thick of it, and I went with him, and my greatest wonder was that, when so many were killed and wounded, I came out unhurt. However, I have described details of these last days of Broadfoot's life from my Journals, and must refer to them. In my Extracts from my Journal, called "Another Chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjáb," published in Series VI of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," a further account is given.

On December 21 the second battle took place at Ferozshahr, at which my chief, George Broadfoot, was killed. We rode into Ferozpúr, pitched our camp, and buried my lamented Master. I was appointed Assistant Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department under Mr. Currie, and retained charge of the Frontier-Agency until the arrival on January 21, 1846, of Major Lawrence, who had been summoned from Nepál. On his arrival I returned to my old office as his Personal Assistant. My name appeared in the Dispatch of the Governor-General

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series VI, p. 42.

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to the Secret Committee of the Directors of the East India Company, December 31, 1845:

"Mr. Cust, of the Civil Service, Confidential Assistant to Major "Broadfoot, Agent to the Governor-General on the North-West Frontier "of India, both in the field, and his own immediate Department, has "shown great intelligence in duties, which were new to him, and "I notice him as a most promising officer."

We remained at Ferozpúr during the whole of January, 1846, awaiting the Siege-Train and the troops from Mirat. On the 30th we heard the news of the Battle of Aliwál, and on February 10 I had the honour of being present at my third battle, Sobráon. I kept close to the Governor-General on horseback, and, as the enemy evacuated their strong position East of the Satlaj, we found our way across the entrenchment, and witnessed their entire destruction in the River. We crossed the River on the 13th at Ferozpúr with the whole Army, and advanced on Lahór, but the whole of the events of that invasion are recorded in a separate paper, "A Chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjáb," published in Series V of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," to which I refer. I was appointed District Officer of one of the newly annexed Provinces of the Jalandhar Doab, Hoshyarpúr, at the age of 25, with a salary of £1,200 per annum. I took charge on April 6, 1846, and met for the first time my great Master, John Lawrence, with whom I was officially connected till the day of my leaving India, December, 1867.

How shall I describe the remainder of the year 1846, and the years 1847, 1848, 1849? Peace and Quiet, Duties of intense interest, time for my Oriental studies: freedom from European bondage: eight hours daily on horseback: disuse of the English Language, and adoption of that of my people, to conciliate whom was the desire of my heart, and I was successful: the majority had never seen a white man before,

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 1,041.

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and they learned what a gentle yet strong rule meant: no bullying, no threatening:

"The iron hand in the velvet glove."

Such were the principles of the Lawrence-system, by which in those distant days the Panjáb was ruled, and I had the delightful privilege of being one of the earliest proficients. I built myself a small house in a beautiful garden. I issued the famous Three Commandments:

"Thou shalt not burn thy widows;
"Thou shalt not kill thy daughters;
"Thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers."

I cut roads where none had existed; I settled the Land-Revenue in cash, and collected it to the last Rupee; I hanged murderers, and imprisoned thieves; I resumed many alienations of the Land-Revenue, and recorded the remainder; I cultivated friendship with the petty Chiefs, but made them understand what obedience meant. One feature of the life now led was the necessity of being constantly on horseback, and riding great distances: one or two of my private horses died under me, to my great grief. Under the old Sikh system a great many Chiefs held certain lands on condition of supplying a certain number of horsemen, so that I had always 50–100 horses tethered near my house or tent, and I used to send on remounts out at intervals of ten miles or so, when I had long distances to travel. I got used to the native saddles, after having had a great many frightful falls, but I took no harm. Gradually, as things settled down, the Government substituted money payments for supply of horsemen, but by that time the necessity for long rides had passed away.

I have no doubt, that there was much irregularity in our Proceedings, which would have shocked the red-tape Regulation Officer: legal forms not attended to; important precedents disregarded; standing orders defied: but we cared not: we were entering on a new environment of Non-Regulation Administration, and, strange to say, the Panjáb has set

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an example to the older Provinces. Fuller accounts are given in the papers noted at the foot of next page.

I recollect a stiff Regulation-officer of the North-West Provinces coming to Hoshyarpúr with the Camp of the Governor-General. He inspected my mode of doing work, disapproved of the absence of all Red-Tape, and the omission of technical formalities. He told Mr. Currie, the Foreign Secretary with the Governor-General, that it was dangerous to place such a vast virgin-district in the hands of a young fellow only 25 years of age, with absolutely no training in the Regulation Provinces. John Lawrence, my Commissioner, laughed heartily, when Mr. Currie repeated these remarks. The experience of half a century has given the stamp of approval to our strong but benevolent, rigorous but sympathetic, system:

"The iron hand in the velvet glove:"

the rough-and-ready Justice: the words of sympathy and good-fellowship: the living alone amidst the people without soldiers and policemen: the Court held under the green mangoe-trees in the presence of hundreds: the *right* man hanged *on the spot*, where he *committed* the murder.

There was great joy in such rule of a conquered people, and great love for them: the joy of some great scheme of improvement, the peremptory order issued, the instant obedience, the expressions of unfeigned gratitude.

Both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief in their Winter tours visited these newly annexed Provinces, and I was in glad attendance on my kind old friends Sir Henry, now Viscount, Hardinge, and Sir Hugh, now Viscount, Gough. I took a month's holiday to Simla, and saw many friends. When we took Lahór, and broke up the Kingdom of the Panjáb, one of our duties was to dispose of the female Members of the Royal Harem. At Lahór there were the wives of a succession of Maharájas: the only thing was to find out the village, to which they belonged, and send them back to their friends.

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I one day received a letter notifying that five Maharánis would arrive to be forwarded to their respective villages. I was greatly excited at the prospect of seeing these lights of the Harem: disgusted I was, when five hideous old women, the survivals of Ranjit Singh's Harem, were brought into my office: I packed them off at once to their homes.

I was anxious to introduce a copper coinage into the District, and commenced paying the pensions of the Chiefs in bright new Copper-Coins from the Mint of Calcutta. They complained to John Lawrence, and he wrote to me, that I was very hard upon the poor Chiefs. I had been thinking only of the convenience of the poorer classes. One striking event occurred: when the War ceased, it was settled, that Maharája Guláb Singh of Jamu should pay the enormous sum, which he offered to pay, as the price of the Valley of Kashmír, into my Treasury at Hoshyarpúr; but, when on the backs of Camels and Elephants the vast bags and boxes of silver arrived from the Hill-Provinces, my treasury would not hold them: so I cleared a large space, piled the mass in the open air, and placed sentries round, and I had my bed prepared for the night on the top of the mound of bags of silver, thinking of Horace:

"collectis undique saccis
Indormis inhians."

Satires, I, i, 71.

But I never slept a wink, and at daybreak was glad to pack all the silver in carts, and under a strong guard of Native Infantry sent it on to Jalandhar to be counted. So rotten were the bags, that travellers *from* Jalandhar that day to Hoshyarpúr arrived with their pockets full of old-fashioned Rupees picked off the sandy road, but were compelled to shell out.

"The Country between the Satlaj and Jamna": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, pp. 1–23.

"A newly conquered District in the Panjáb": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series II, pp. 86–104.

"Farewell to my Indian District" and "The Indian District": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, pp. 234–251.

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A singular incident occurred one day: while in my office, deep in the affairs of my people, conducted in the language and script of the country, a letter sent by a horseman was pushed into my hand from Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident of Lahór, already mentioned as Major Lawrence, who succeeded Major Broadfoot. I opened it in anticipation of orders with regard to some rebel to be caught and hanged, or some conspiracy for me to be ready to meet; the words were few: "I enclose a sad letter.—H. L." I turned to the enclosure: "Dear Sir Henry, I have just opened poor Cust's body, and find no indications of unusual character." It gave me a turn to read, that somebody without my knowledge had been prying into my interior, but, as I read on, I found that the reference was to a poor young cousin of mine in an Infantry Regiment at Lahór: he was down with fever, and Sir Henry, hearing of it, had him moved into the Residency, out of kindness to me, and tended the poor lad in his last hours. I had the painful duty of writing to his widowed mother. Such was life in India.

But another war was to break out in 1848. In May we heard of the rebellion at Multán. Later on commenced the Panjáb Campaign as distinguished from the Sikh Campaign of 1845–46. The whole country was in a ferment: in my own District of Hoshyarpúr some petty Rajpút Chiefs, my own intimate friends, incited by a designing Sikh Priest, who lived close by them, raised the Standard of Rebellion in the Jeswán Dún. John Lawrence took out all the troops, which could be got together, and we came down on them, captured the Rajpút Chiefs, and burned the castle of the wily Sikh Priest, who had fled. I locked up the three poor Rajas and their sons in my fort at Bujwára, and fed them with bread and water. I used to visit them, and they had no excuse to make. One of them took me to the wall of his cell, and with his finger pointed out some pretty lines, which he had written in the Hindi Language and Nágari Character: a stanza of some native Poem. I copied them into my Notebook, and wrote an English Poetic version, published in my Book of Poems. The Rajas

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series I, p. 29 (1887).

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were deported as prisoners to Kumaon, where they died. The Priest escaped to Amritsar. He had proposed to assassinate me, but his plan broke down. My duties had once compelled me to go out, and pass the night in a tent in the Jeswán Dún Valley some few miles from the Fort of this Priest. It was suggested to him, that he should send out men, and kill me: but when they found me, and my two Native Servants, fast asleep, they returned to the Priest and said that they could not do the deed, for they were sure, that there was some 'Jin' or 'Afrít' ready to fall on them. They were right: the eye of the Lord was upon His Servants, and their times were in His hands. I used to chaff the old Priest about this, in after years at Amritsar, where he ended his days, and told him how lucky he was, that he had not killed me, for John Lawrence would most certainly have hanged him, if he had done so. At the close of the Rebellion I razed the Fort and Dwelling-place of this Priest to the ground, compelling his own soldiers and servants to do the work. There was one favourite seat on the mountain-side, where he used to look down with satisfaction on the great Babylon, which he had built. When I took my last view from that seat all had disappeared. I also felt satisfied. In the early months of 1849 (February 28) the battle of Gújarat settled the Panjáb Campaign, and the whole kingdom was annexed, and Maharája Dulíp Singh deported. I issued a Proclamation to my subjects at the commencement of the Rebellion, a copy of which is given at the end of this chapter.

The failing health of my dear Father made me very anxious to run home for a short visit. There were not the same facilities of short leave then as there are now: taking leave meant resigning your post, and forfeiting all allowances. I had, however, received such a large salary and my cost of living, except in purchase of horses, was so small, that I could bear the expense; but I find in my letters to my Parents, how my devotion to my Profession, my sense of Duty, my love to my people in my District, made me very unwilling to leave my post, which suited me so admirably. In one letter of 1845 I find the following expression, which I rejoice that I wrote, and which young

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men of this generation should reflect upon, "I must establish a name first before I return home," and I succeeded.

I had been three years in my dear District, my first love and never to be forgotten, when the order came to transfer me to my old district of Ambála, which was supposed to have fallen out of order, and required a new hand. I went over in November to Rúpar on the Satlaj River to have an interview with Lord Dalhousie, the new Governor-General. My transfer was intended as a compliment, so I had to submit. On November 25 I left Hoshyarpúr: it was a sad parting with my Native friends; they came in from a long distance to touch my feet, and I cried like a child. I write no further, as it is described in a separate paper.

I took charge of my old district of Ambála on December 3, and indeed found an Augæan stable. However, I set to work and made long tours, and succeeded. I visited Hardwár on the Ganges at the time of the great fair. One noteworthy occurrence took place, which marks the contrast of those years with the present. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, had to proceed in a palanquin from Jigádri to Ambála. It was arranged that he should travel quite alone. I realized the danger, and with an escort of two officers of the Police I accompanied him the whole night's journey to Ambála on horseback. He slept quietly, unaware of the danger or of my protection, but he thanked me for it, when we met next day. It would have been a bad job if he had been killed in my District. One or two officers had lately been attacked at night on the road.

At this same place, Jigádri, there was a troublesome old lady, the widow of a deceased Chief, who represented the old Sikh system of independent Chieftainships, which expired at her death. She sent word, that she wished to see me about some case, and I was anxious to see the interior of a Native Harem. I was introduced into a room with a white sheet drawn across it. She was behind it, and there were holes in the sheet through which she could see me; I could not see her, but could talk with her. In the case of illness Native ladies used to put their tongues or

"Farewell to my Indian District": L. & O. Essays, Ser. IV, p. 234.

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hands through a hole in the sheet for the European Doctor to touch. All this has disappeared since the introduction of Lady Doctors.

I had made acquaintance with some young officers in the Ambála Cantonment, and they were anxious to see a Chítah-hunt. I had business to transact with the Maharája of Pateála, the greatest of all our Protected Chieftains, so I arranged with him to pitch tents for us, and to be our Host, and one Friday afternoon, accompanied by my four friends, I rode over to Pateála, where we were received most hospitably, with fireworks, and all kinds of Native splendour. At daybreak and in the afternoon of each day, Saturday and Sunday, the young men were out in the Chítah-hunt. I had business, and cared not for such things; but what amazed me most was, that during the whole of both days they played at cards unceasingly: I never saw anything like it before or since.

I had meanwhile a long interview with the Headman of the Maharája and the Chieftain himself. He had set his face against two features of life: Dancing Girls and Post-offices. Of course, as to the former there was no wish to interfere with him, but as regards the latter his kingdom was so situated, that it was absolutely necessary to establish Post-office runners, and branch Post-offices, in order to keep up communication with the Panjáb. After long discussion he gave in; in fact, we made him give in. Civilization was pressing on the barbarian: he condemned because he could not understand. I had always been his very good friend, and, when quite alone together, we could talk freely. He was a sharp man: he had no family, though he had three wives. He determined to take a fourth, *who had Sisters and Aunts, all of whom had children.* His policy succeeded: he left a son, who succeeded him, and his Dynasty still rules the land.

I had always determined to go to England this year (1849), as my Father was advanced in years and very infirm, but before I started, John Lawrence, now Chief Commissioner, wished me to visit all the Districts of the Panjáb, and make a confidential Report to him. I made over charge of my District, went to Lahór, and after a talk with John

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Lawrence, deliberately visited each District, and the great battlefields. I then made a tour through the Valley of Kashmír, entering by the Pír Pinjál Pass, and passing out by the Báramullah. I saw a great deal of my old friend Maharája Guláb Singh, now Sovereign of Kashmír. I dined with him, visited his Crocus-Gardens, and attended a Review of his troops. We had long confidential conversations: at the last, when I was on board one of his boats to traverse the Ulur Lake, and had gone to bed, late at night he was announced, and he came and sat by my bedside. When he went away at last, I put my hand under my pillow; I found something hard, and drew out a magnificent Kashmír shawl, worth one thousand Rupees, which the old fox had with his own hands tucked in, as a farewell present, thinking that I should keep it, if thus offered on the sly: of course, I had no choice but to send it back next day, with my thanks and compliments. He has been dead years ago, and his son, Maharája Runbír Singh, likewise my personal friend, has died. His grandson is on the throne.

With Lala Rukh in my hands I visited the fairy regions of Kashmír, chanting Moore's beautiful Poems as I stood in my boat. On the 24th of October, 1850, I landed at the head of Báramullah Pass and commenced my march: on the 31st I was in British Territory at Hazáruh: pitching my tent at Haripúr, I had friendly intercourse with Sir James Abbott, who only died a few years ago, and on the 4th November reached Rawulpindi, very tired: from this point I made an excursion to Hasan Abdul, Attock on the Indus, and Pesháwar. I embarked at Jhelúm Station in a River-boat to sail down the River Jhelúm into the Chenáb, and down the Chenáb into the Indus. I visited Multán *en route*, and thence to Mithunkót and Sukkur in Sindh. I was quite alone with my Native Servants, and one faithful Native companion, and very much exhausted by the fatigues of the last two months. I was sustained by the desire to reach Hyderabad in Sindh, Karáchi, and Bombay. I hardly realized till I got there how very near I was to the end of my career. Youth and a good constitution had carried me through, but when I left my boat at Tatta finally on Christmas Day, my journal records how

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miserable I felt. I started across the Desert on a pony to Karáchi in great pain and suffering: I had been reduced very low by the inadequate food on board my boat: when I got into a Hotel at Karáchi I was startled by the appearance of my face in the looking-glass, for I had not had access to such a thing since I left Lahór months ago: but I soon began to recover. The year ended sadly, though I found many kind friends at Bombay.

During my boat-trip from Jhelúm, November 21, to Karáchi, my thoughts had been directed to Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, and his voyage down the Indus. All particulars are well known *now*, but it was not so on January 8, 1851. James Abbott, whom I had met at Haripúr, had studied the subject, and written upon it, and I had all that he had written, but I cannot lay my hands on any account of a boat-trip down the Jhelúm and Chenáb, and thence into the Panchnad or Five Rivers, until they are all absorbed into the Indus, of a date anterior to this my solitary descent in a Native Boat. There were no Steamers on the Indus, or I should have made use of them from Sukkur. Sindh had only lately been conquered, and in 1846 I had been introduced to Sir Charles Napier, who visited us in our triumph at Lahór. I had been on the track of Alexander the Great, and searched for the pillar, which he was reported to have erected, at his most Eastern point on the River Beas. Oh! why did his recreant soldiers mutiny, and not advance to the banks of the Jamna, and sail down the Ganges! Alexander might have met King Asóka, and come upon the footsteps of the great Buddha, and the long silence, and separation, and mutual ignorance, of the great Oriental and Occidental Nations would not have been permitted. Alexander the Great had visited Jerusalem, and conversed with Hebrew Priests: he might, had he descended the Ganges, have visited Hindu Temples at Banáras and Buddhist Temples at Gya in Behár, and conversed with Buddhists. But it was not to be. Oh! that they had met!

January 3, 1851. I went on board the steamer from Karáchi to Bombay, and landed at Apollo Bhandar on the 7th. Here I had a delightful

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stay of a week among friends, and visited the Caves of Elephanta. Intermediately we touched at Aden on the 26th January. Here in a newspaper I read that my cousin, Viscount Alford, the heir of all the wealth and titles of my Father's family, had died on the 3rd January. He was a few years older than me, tall, strong, and healthy, and nothing was good enough for him, while the younger members of the family had to pick up crumbs where they could. Now he was cut off in his greatness. Still more strange it was, that Viscount Newry, the heir of all the wealth and titles of my Mother's family, died on the 6th May of the same year. Early death had found them out in their comfortable homes in England, while the exiled wanderer, exposed to death in sundry forms, sea voyages, disease, assassination, and pitched battles, while hundreds died around him, had been permitted to live to return home, and to live on to the last years of the Century.

On the 17th of January I went on board the steamer for Suez, and reached that port on February 3. Here we found vans, holding six each, to convey us across the desert. A remarkable incident occurred. At one of the stages, where we changed horses, we found the convoy of outgoing vans also changing, and a passenger to India came to all our vans, and inquired, whether a certain person was of our party. He was, and they met, and embraced: we learned, that they were brothers, who had never met previously, and they were destined never to meet again, for one of them was shot in a duel the following year. From Cairo to Alexandria we had the River-Steamer only, and I went on board the Austrian Steamer to Trieste, which I reached February 12. On my road to Vienna I visited the wonderful caves of Adelsburg. We had to cross snowy Mountains in diligences, as the Railway was not entirely completed, and it was very cold. At Vienna there was heavy snow. A Guide took me to see the usual sights, and by chance I saw a special one, for as we were walking on the old city ramparts (now destroyed), the Guide called out to me, "Kaiser!" and we both took off our hats, and the young Emperor Franz Joseph (with his Aide-de-Camp), a thin young man, passed close to us, and bowed to our salutations. Forty-seven years of ceaseless labour have

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passed over since that day, and every kind of political and domestic affliction, but he is the same good man and true.

From Vienna I found the Railway in full force to Calais, which I reached on February 23. I was struck by the Telegraph-lines high overhead upon poles: when I left Europe in 1842 they crept along the level of the road. I crossed to Dover, and proceeded to London, which I reached on the same day, and I met my dear Father, after a separation of eight years, in the home of my Uncle, Colonel Cust, No. 73, South Audley Street; the next day, February 24, on which I completed my 30th year, I went down to Windsor, and met my Mother and Sisters. God had indeed been good to me, and all my desires had been accomplished. Many of my relations, who have long since passed away, then welcomed me. I visited Cockayne Hatley, the place of my birth, and Belton, the home of my Ancestors. What struck me a good deal, first at Vienna, then in London, was the number of women in the shops, the conveyances, and in the streets, for during my long solitudes among the Natives of India the female sex had disappeared from my view, and I looked at them now as a curiosity and a novelty.

On May 1 was opened the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. My Cousin, Viscount Alford, as I recorded above, had died, and I and their tutor took the two little sons, both in succession Earl Brownlow, to see the sight, and the two boys sat on our knees. The Queen and Prince Albert, and their little sons and daughters, walked just in front of our seats, which were on the floor of the nave. At a party in Arlington Street given by the Marquess of Salisbury, father of the present Prime Minister, I was presented by the late Marchioness to the great Duke of Wellington, who alluded to my being present in the Sikh battles. I felt this to be one of the greatest honours of my life. I spent my time in London; was present at Eton for the Speeches: the Queen was there: I went also to Haileybury College on the Prize Day. I attended the Meeting of the British Association at Ipswich: Prince Albert was President, and was the guest of my Uncle, Sir William Middleton, at Shrublands Park. I was presented to Prince Albert by my Aunt, Lady Middleton, and he

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alluded to the great wars in the Panjáb. I paid many visits, and renewed old friendships. In the Autumn I made a tour in the North of England and Scotland. I was at Cockayne Hatley for my Father's birthday on September 27. He was 71 years of age that day. To please my dear Father I wrote a descriptive account of the Church of Cockayne Hatley, to the decoration of which he had contributed so much: my two surviving Sisters supplied illustrations, and some drawings of my dear lost Sister who died in 1844 were made use of. My Father had the whole published, and a beautiful volume it was. Since then I have had the narrative reprinted in Series V of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays." I accompanied him to Paris, my first visit to that city, in October: on my return to London I dined with the Lord Mayor, and with the Directors of the East India Company. I visited Belton, and took leave of my Uncle, Earl Brownlow: I never saw him again, for he died before my second visit to England. The last days of this happy year were spent with my Father in his home in Windsor Cloisters. A cloud seemed to be gathering over me, for I knew that my parting from my Parents, perhaps for ever, was at hand. I had so much for which to be thankful: I had achieved independence, and a certain position and official reputation, before I was 30, and had my career before me. My future was no longer dim and obscure. I knew two things: (1) what a man was required to do in India, (2) that I had the gift and strength to do it; and to a certain extent I was anxious to be back in my proper field. Thus ended the year 1851.

There were many features in my first sojourn in India, the like of which I never saw again, such as the Chítah-hunting and the hawking. I did, indeed, in 1859 take Lord and Lady Canning out hawking, seated on Elephants, but that was merely a show; in former years it had been a reality. The Chief rode by my side with his hawk on his wrist. I used to delight to see the cattle swimming across the River, and sometimes elephants, with the boys standing on their backs. Then in my tour

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 724.

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I overtook parties on pilgrimage to the Ganges: the faithful widow, who by our new Law had escaped the funeral pile, travelling many a league to cast a tooth or a charred bone of her deceased husband into the Ganges. I wrote a paper on the Women of India. Then there were the ceremonious receptions of Chieftains: the *Istikbál*, or going out to meet them, and the *Mashâyat*, or accompanying them a certain distance on their return: the Palaces of the King or the Chieftain were of interest: the hearty welcome in the landholder's house: the Sacred Shrine on the Hilltop, such as Naini Dév, which I visited: the Sacred Temple of Jowála Mukhi, where the perpetual Fire, which came out of the Rocks, was adored: all these I have described at different times, and the pleasant Society of a most interesting people. As the first White Ruler, whom they had known, I desired to conciliate their friendship and love, and succeeded.

"The Indian Women": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 280.
"Fire-Temples": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 195.

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Chapter III.

PERIOD III.

Exile in India. No. II: 1852–1857.

(1) Visit to Greece, Turkey, Holy Land, Egypt, 1852.
(2) North-West Provinces of India, Banda, 1852–1855.
(3) Return Home, 1855.
(4) Residence in England, 1855–1857.

I had my likeness taken on steel by the Daguerrotype-Process, an art, which had come into existence since I left England in 1843, and which was entirely superseded by Photography before I returned to England in 1855. On January 3 I took leave of my dear and honoured Parents in their home at Windsor, expecting never to see either again: but I was permitted to do so. My eldest brother accompanied me to Dover, and saw me on board my Steamer to Calais. The weather was rough: there was no pier at Dover then, and we had to go out to the Steamer in an open boat, and suffered accordingly. I was in Paris a couple of days, and then worked my way to Marseilles by Railway, River-Steamer, and Diligence, for there was no through-Railway then. I took Steamer from Marseilles to Genoa, then Diligence to Milan, and on the 13th reached Venice. The rigour of the Austrian Customs House was terrible, and all my books were taken away from me.

From Venice I crossed to Trieste, and took steamer to Athens, which I reached on the 22nd, and where I had five delightful days. At Athens I was introduced to Lord Byron's Maid of Athens, then Mrs. Black, and her daughter; the latter did not realize my ideal of beauty, and,

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as my Journal records, was rather of the 'Black' type. I attended a sitting of the *Βούλη* or Senate: what struck me most was the noise caused by every Senator having a rosary in his hand, and counting his beads with a sharp click. I saw King Otho in his Greek, or rather Albanian, Costume. The whole of the Greek Governmental system was a humbug. I met the divorced wife of Lord Ellenborough on board ship: she had run away with a German Baron, whom she had left for a good-looking Greek, with whom she was, when I met and talked to her: she subsequently left him and went off with a Turk: "facilis descensus Averni." I rode over to Marathon, and on my return took steamer on the 27th to Smyrna and Constantinople, which I reached on February 1, passing the Island of Tenedos, the coast of Troy, and the Hellespont. At Constantinople I witnessed the ceremony of the Sultan going to Prayers in State, and I went over the kitchen of the Imperial Seraglio, where food was being prepared, according to my guide, "pour deux cent demoiselles." I saw Turkish ladies drive by in their carriages, with their faces uncovered. I saw a great deal of Sir Stratford Canning, the Ambassador, and his family, as I had introductions to them. The Crimean War was only threatening then.

On February 9 I started by Steamer to Beirút, touched and landed on the Islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and began my tour in Palestine on the 17th. I entered Jerusalem on my birthday, February 24, and completed my tour of Palestine, and trip to Damascus, on April 2. My experience of Camp-life in India, and my knowledge of Arabic, helped me here, for I hired two Native Servants and two mules, and put up in the villages. At night the children of the house, where I lodged, used to read the Scriptures in Arabic to me. At Jerusalem I met Consul Finn, and Bishop Gobat. I made many new friends, and thoroughly enjoyed myself. I described the whole in a paper at the time, so I say no more. When I stood on Mount Gerizim, and surveyed the whole of Palestine, as I could see the Mountains of Moab to the South, and Mount Hermon on the North, the Valley of the

"A Tour in Palestine": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, p. 252.

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Jordan to the East, and the Mediterranean to the West, the conviction came upon me how ridiculously small was this tiny little Province, about which so much fuss is made. I had just been helping to divide our newly-conquered Province of the Panjáb into more than a dozen Districts. The whole of Palestine would not make up two of these Districts.

At Samaria the Samaritan Priests showed me a copy of the Pentateuch, written in the old Hebrew Alphabet, and had the impudence to tell me, and Consul Finn, that it was written by the hand of the grandson of Aaron: we know better now, that no *Alphabet* existed at that date, and that the survival of a MS. on papyrus of that date was exceedingly problematical. I wrote a careful study of the "present state of Turkey" after I had completed my tour. I had hoped on some subsequent occasion to go over Persia in the same way, looking into the Revenue and Judicial system with the eye of an Anglo-Indian Ruler of newly-conquered Provinces, but the Crimean War rendered it impossible. My earnest desire was to gather knowledge for the advancement of India. This led me in France to study the Judicial system of that country, as more suitable to Oriental Countries, and I wrote a paper on the French Courts of Justice. I also compiled a paper on Mesopotamia, though never able to visit it. I had introductions to Native officials in Turkey, and sat with them in their Courts, taking notes of things to be avoided, and things to be imitated. When a European Consul came into the Court to protect the interests of some of his own Nationality, there was a tendency on his part to bully the witnesses, and try to intimidate the Judge. I felt for the Pasha, and, if the representative of any Foreign State had taken such a line in my Indian Court, I should have turned him out of the Court, or fined him.

I left Beirút for Jaffa and Alexandria on April 5. I had made the acquaintance of the Consul-General at Beirút, and Sir Charles Murray and Sir Hugh Rose, afterwards Lord Strathnairn. On board the Steamer

"The Empire of Turkey": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series II, p. 244.
"French Courts of Justice": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 378.
"Mesopotamia": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, p. 289.

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I met and conversed with M. Ferdinand de Lesseps: nothing was known about the Suez Canal at that date. There was a poor young French girl on board, dying of consumption, and I used to talk to her on the deck, and bring smiles to her sad wan cheeks: how I wished that I could convey to her some portion, if not all, of my complete and faultless bodily health and strength, so as to lengthen her days; but it was not to be. When I read this in my Journal, after a lapse of forty years, and a very deluge of sorrow and affliction, I am glad that in the days of my strength and joy I felt for others. At Alexandria I was locked up in Quarantine, but set free on Easter Day. I followed the old route by canal-boat to Atfuh, and Steamer to Cairo, thence by Van to Suez, went on board the Steamer on the 22nd, and, touching at Aden, reached Bombay on May 6. I paid a visit of a couple of days to the Governor of Bombay, Lord Falkland, at his villa in the Mahabáleshwár Hills: thence to Ahmednagar, Aurungabad, climbed up to the fortress of Deogíri, visited the Caves of Ellóra, and further on the Caves of Ajanta. I found Major Gill hard at work at his drawings and measurements of these wonderful caves, so little known, telling of a Religion, which exists no longer in that part of India. I halted one night, and met a lady-traveller (for the genus existed even then). Next morning she mounted her horse astride on the saddle, after the manner of men, and rode off in the direction of Bombay. On June 2 I was at Indore, the guest of Sir Robert Hamilton, the Resident. I found my College-friend Edward Anson weighing opium, and giving passes to the owner to convey it to Bombay, there to pay a duty of about 100 per cent., and ship it to China. My thoughts went back to a certain day in January, 1845, when I was in the Governor-General's Camp at Ferozpúr. An incident occurred, merely a signature, which added a Million Sterling to our Revenue. Scinde had been conquered, and its ports closed to the export of opium, which used to flow down through it to the open sea at Karáchi untaxed. All the landowners of the Rajpút States had now the choice of chewing their own opium, or sending it to Bombay to be taxed before export to China. No one dreamed of this

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a few years before. An Order of the Council of the Governor-General, sitting in Calcutta in the Financial Department, came to Sir Henry Hardinge, whose mind was occupied with Military anxieties, and Mr. Currie asked him to sign it, inaugurating the system of transporting the opium of Central India, *viâ* the Bombay Presidency, to Bombay. And yet the Anti-Opium Fanatics assert, that the Government of India invented the Opium-Trade from pure malevolent greed, and taught the Natives how to grow the poppy.

I reached Agra by mailcart on June 9, and was the guest of my honoured friend James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, to which I was now attached, as there was no vacancy in the Panjáb. On my route thither two noteworthy incidents occurred: in the dead of night my mailcart was stopped by a number of bears, who had occupied the high road, and we had to drive them away. At one change of horses the new driver of the mailcart, who was a Hindu, refused to use the mail-trumpet of his predecessor, a Mahometan, as it would destroy his caste.

I was appointed to Banáras as Joint Magistrate; rather a fall, but I knew that it was only for a time. I liked my residence here. My Assistant, and sharer of my house, P. Malcolm, died September 9. I was greatly pained, and described the sad story in a paper. I saw a great deal of the Missionaries, and described the Mission Chapel. While I was there, the new rule, requiring all the prisoners of the gaol to share the same food, cooked by a high-caste Brahmin, was introduced, and the foolish people of the town closed their shops, and interrupted business: after vain warnings and advice, we called out a Regiment of Native Infantry, led them into the city, captured the ringleaders, and compelled the shopkeepers to reopen. Quiet was restored, and we received personally the thanks of Government for our good arrangements. I began now to read Sanskrit regularly, and enjoyed the quiet life. On September 20, by request, I called on the Rani of Vizianágram,

"Death in India": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 245.

"Native Place of Worship": Gospel-Message, p. 384.

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of Madras, and her daughter, who resided at Banáras: the daughter was young, unmarried, and pretty. This was the only occasion in the whole of my Indian career, that I had conversation with Indian ladies, and I was much gratified. I met them also at dinner at a friend's house the next day. The Raja of Banáras, a kindly old man, gave his annual dinner to the ladies and gentlemen of the Station on one of his feast-days, and we had wreaths of roses placed round our necks. I disapproved of this, as a recognition of Idol-Worship.

The Mahometan Festival of Bakra Eed took place on September 27, and the Hindu Festival in honour of Rama, the Avatár of Vishnu, took place on October 23: there were grand processions in the streets. These are nervous times for the Magistrate in great Cities, for, while we allow full Religious liberty, we insist on the peace being kept.

My time at Banáras had come to an end, and I was appointed Magistrate and Collector of Banda in Bundelkund on a salary of £2,250 per annum. It was wonderful promotion, but I suppose, that I had a good reputation from the Panjáb. I was now in an old Regulation Province, and had not the freedom of a newly-conquered Province. I felt diffident and anxious, but I knew my work, and was strong in health. I understood, that the District was out of order, and that the settlement of Land-Revenue had broken down. I took charge of my new office November 8, and went into Camp for several months: the task was indeed a difficult one, but in the three years of my residence I accomplished it, and left for England in 1855 under a flourish of official trumpets and congratulations. My reputation was now made, both for the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb.

In December I crossed the Jamna to Fatehpur to visit my dear friend James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor, and accompany him in his tour of my District. I never met him again, for he died suddenly just as he had been appointed Governor of Madras. This was a lesson for

"Indian Festival": Gospel-Message, p. 404.

"James Thomason, a peaceful Ruler": L. & O. Essays, Series IV, p. 129.

"Undue Deference to Idol-Worship": L. & O. Essays, Series III, p. 321.

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me to ponder over in after years: this good man was called away before he was 50, and had no reward in this world for his labours. He had lost his wife many years before, and no official honours ever reached him. I described him years afterwards as the 'Peaceful Ruler,' for he laid down the principles of our System of Government, based on love for the People, and left behind him a School of followers, one of whom I am proud to reckon myself.

I had one remarkable political exile in my District, the ex-Peishwah of Satára in Bombay: when defeated in battle he had been exiled to Banda, and was now a very old man. I paid him his pension of £70,000 per annum. I used to visit him: he was childless, and was called 'Nana Sahib.' The pension had been arranged by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had commanded the Army, which defeated him in Central India. I told him once that Sir Arthur, on his return to Europe, became a very great man indeed, when he was called the Duke of Wellington: his reply was, that in his estimation he was as great a man as could possibly be, when he gave him a pension of seven lakhs per annum. He died, and I reported his death to the Governor-General direct; great satisfaction was expressed at the lapse of this enormous pension. During the Mutinies in 1857 some obscure member of his family raised a rebellion, and became notorious as Nana Sahib, but he had no manner of claim to the Pension, which was for life only.

I was now for months and weeks quite alone with the Natives, very happy, very contented, in excellent health, and busily employed. My birthday came round on February 24. I had books to read, and I wrote papers for the *Calcutta Review*, and other Periodicals, and Poems for my private collection.

I used to be on horseback before daybreak; then came the false dawn, which disappeared, followed by the real dawn, and the Sun rising in its glory. I find in my Journal that I once sprained my ankle, and continued my tour on the back of my elephant, and some of my Poems

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," pp. 40–101 (1887).

"Pictures of Indian Life" (1881).

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are recorded as having been written on my elephant. In 1854 I record that I had the most severe fall from my horse of all my many falls. I was fifty miles from the nearest surgeon: I had no bones broken: the Goodness of God preserved my life in the Jungle. Only a few years before, the great Sir Robert Peel, riding on his own trained steed in the streets of London, was killed on the spot. My general health was always good. There were no stimulants to be had in camp so far from the haunts of Europeans. I was repeatedly vaccinated during my Indian career, as Small Pox at certain seasons raged around. On one occasion a poor Englishman was brought to the Station in a dooley quite dead: there was nothing for it but to dig a large hole, and drop him in with his clothes and all his chattels, and bury him, as no one would touch him. All the Natives then rushed off to the River to wash their bodies and their clothes. I had to pay visits to Native Chiefs, a barbarian class, and I described one visit. I ascended the sacred Hill of Chitrakot, where the great Prince Rama lived in exile. I had been reading the Sanskrit Ramáyana, and I described his whole route over India in a paper. It was the first time that the geographical details of this wonderful passage across India had been described by one, who had visited the sacred spots, and entered thoroughly into the subject. Years afterwards, when I visited Turin, Signor Gaspar Gorresio, who had published the text with an Italian translation in nine stately volumes, expressed to me his gratitude for my paper, and informed me that in his Italian Preface he had mentioned my name with honour. I venture to add an extract of his remarks in Italian:

Extract from Preface to Gorresio's Edition of the Ramáyana, vol. ix, p. xxi (1856).

"Il Signor Roberto Cust, persona di nobile ingegno, versatissimo nelle "lingue e nella letteratura dell' India, il quale passo piu anni nelle varie "parti dell' Indostan e principalmente in quelle contrade, dove Rama "dimoro, sia esulando, sia capitanando l'esercito de Vánari. . . . .

"The Ramáyana": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, p. 56.

"The Indian Raja": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 262.

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" Il Signor Roberto Cust, visito que siti lontani, e compose una carta " geographica delle regione percosse da Rama, e mi notifico, que la Pampa " non e propriamenta un fiume, ma un gran stagno."

When the heat became unbearable in tents, I retired to my house, and continued the same quiet life. On Sunday I used to distribute copper coins among the fakirs, who came together. I found plenty of time for literary work, and was never less alone than when alone. After sunset I used to seat myself in my garden: I described such scenes in a Poem. We had service on Sunday in our Church, and some of us laymen read the Service, for we had no Chaplain. I presented a Quarto Bible and Prayer Book as a record of my residence. They were plundered during the Mutinies, but found in the house of the Rebel Nawáb and replaced. I helped the American Missionary Society to start a Mission in the town of Banda. In the Autumn I was in camp again for the Winter-months.

I did my best to put a stop to Execution of Criminals outside the Prison, in the presence of a gaping crowd. I made a report to the Government, and wrote a paper for publication, but I failed *then*: eventually the measure was carried. It has been my misfortune through life to see things about seven years before my fellows; however, my long life has enabled me to see them carried out at last, and be satisfied.

A new Lieutenant-Governor, John Colvin, had succeeded James Thomason. I visited him in his camp, and he was very gracious; among other things he offered me the post of Magistrate and Collector of Delhi. It was a great temptation, but I refused it on the ground of it being my duty to go home on furlough, and see my Father once more; and this saved my life, for my poor friend, John Hutchison, who accepted it, was killed on the first day of the Mutinies in 1857 in discharge of his ordinary duties. How grateful I ought to feel! Another happy

" The Indian Gallows-Tree ": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 258.

" Protest against Public Execution of Criminals ": L. & O. Essays, Series III, p. 314.

" Poems of Many Years and Many Places," p. 99.

" Miriam the Indian Girl ": L. & O. Essays, Series V, p. 251.

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year of official success came to a close, but during those solitary hours my heart had been entirely turned to God, and such honours as fell on me were nothing worth in comparison.

The year 1854 passed away in the same quiet manner. I wrote a paper on the duties of a Collector of Land Revenue, which I knew pretty well now. I wrote several Manuals in the Urdu Language with a view of introducing order into the office, instructing the Native subordinates; at night I used to have the young officials to meet me, and they were taught, as on a stage, by acting a scene in a drama, how to execute legally the duties imposed upon them by Law. Those books were largely used elsewhere afterwards. In November I sailed down the River Jamna to Allahabad, and I saw for the first time in India the Telegraph-line along the road. The news here reached me of the Crimean War, and at Allahabad I heard of the battle of the Alma, and the death of my young Cousin, Horace Cust, in the field. Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, visited Banda in his tour, and he bestowed high commendation on my work.

With 1855 came the fulfilment of my plans. I became convinced, that my dear Father's health was failing, and I determined to take my furlough of three years, which was now due, and return to England to see him, as he had expressed a wish to that effect. My work at Banda was practically done: anybody could carry it on, and a most efficient successor was appointed, Frederick Maine, who died a few years afterwards, greatly lamented. Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, came again to Banda in February to take leave of me. Unconscious of the storm to burst over India in 1857, I had stored away in carefully-packed chests in the Government-Treasury all my silver plate, books from my schoolboy days, pictures collected in Italy, letters received during fourteen years by me from my friends in India, and relations in England, and Oriental MSS. collected in India. All perished in the Mutinies of 1857, and the loss was irremediable. Had I remained, I might have fallen a victim,

"Questions for Officials": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 1,013.
"Collector of Land Revenue": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, p. 172.

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as some of my friends and assistants did. I ought to feel deeply grateful, as on looking back I see, that my life was so often spared, when others fell.

It is not in a spirit of vainglory or official pride, that I find a place in my Life-Memoir for the opinions recorded of my work at Banda in 1852–1855 by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, the Board of Revenue of the Province, the Commissioner of the Division, and my official successor, all of them written months *after my departure.* When a Public Officer leaves the scene of his labours, he leaves his character behind at the mercy of those above him, who were jealous of him, those below him, who smarted at having been superseded by him, and those who differed from him, and thought that they knew better than the man who was gone. In my paper on the "Conquest of the Panjáb," I record how ten years before the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, during the Satláj Campaign, in his ride round the Camp had found me in a Banya's shop behind the counter, dealing out grain from my Stores to the Sepoys, who had brought their bags. His Excellency called out to me: "Nothing is below the dignity of an earnest man." Such was my maxim in life. I had to collect the Revenue of the Land, and I showed my people that I could collect it. I had to maintain order, and I succeeded in doing so, and yet, when I left the District, driving through the crowds which lined each side of the road, and heard their words of farewell, I had my reward, and I shed tears on leaving my people, as if they had been my own relatives.

Extract from a letter, No. 3,163, 14th November, 1859, from the Collector of Banda, to the Commissioner Fourth Division.

"Paragraph 14. Mr. Cust was appointed Collector on 27th October, "1852, and he remarks in his Administration Report for 1852–1853: "'Banda has given constant trouble, and it is impossible to say when "the difficulties attendant upon its management will cease. Still, it "appears that by judicious treatment, and by very vigorous practice,

"Conquest of the Panjáb": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series VI, p. 46.

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" this evil may be diminished.' The stern enforcement of the Law " had taught the people at last that the Revenue was finally fixed " for the term of Settlement, and that there would be no more reduc- " tions. Mr. Cust then set about to restore all the unsettled Estates " by vigorous direct management; and disposing of all old balance " cases, he allowed no current balances to accrue. He eradicated many " very irregular and prejudicial customs, and removed many inefficient " public servants. Government officials were made to learn their work, " and to know that it must be efficiently done, and the zemindars were " taught that they had a master over them whom no species of chicanery " could deceive, no threats nor tears would cause to swerve one inch from " the policy he had assumed, and whom they could not blind. They " fought long and hard with him, and many a severe tussle took place " in the Civil Courts, but he won his point in almost every case, and they " at last knuckled down. The people were made to pay, and they did pay, " in spite of bad seasons, but I believe not without much sacrifice. Much " property privately changed hands, and many zemindars were reduced to " great poverty by being obliged to pay two or three successive years' " revenue, or a portion of it, from their private resources. Every trick " of a defaulter was met by a manœuvre. It took a great deal of " squeezing and planning of new processes, which, though strictly legal, " are as unpalatable to the defaulter as they are uncongenial to the " authority imposing them; by thoroughly ascertaining the causes of " default, however, in each case, and carefully applying at once the " proper and most efficient process, and especially by enforcing the joint " responsibility."

Extract from a letter of Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, to the Court of Directors. No. 5 of 1855.

" Paragraph 1. As an instance of great administrative success His " Honour notices the District of Banda, where the Revenue had, through " a close, vigorous, and discriminating, plan of superintendence, been, with " a much diminished resort to coercive measures, realized with unusual " punctuality. The example is regarded as one of much encouragement,

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" and as indicative of what may be done by the influence of so energetic " and intelligent an officer as Mr. Cust, of whose able and assiduous " exertions His Honour has already recorded his appreciation."

Extract from a letter of Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor. No. 1 of 1856.

" The diminution of balances in Estates under direct management is " considered very satisfactory. The Board noticed the high commendation " already bestowed on Mr. Cust's exertions in this Department.

" His Honour has perused with interest Mr. Cust's report of " February 19, 1855. The real subject of congratulation, as remarked " by Mr. Cust, is not the disposal of so many Estates, but the cessation of " fresh cases.

" The Lieutenant-Governor concurred in the favourable notice taken " by the Board of the services of Mr. Cust. His merits have been " *repeatedly* marked by the high approbation of Government."

Extract of letter from the Board of Revenue to the Lieutenant-Governor, February 9, 1855. No. 109.

" The untiring energy, with which Mr. Cust has devoted himself to the " duties of his office, is deserving of the highest commendation. He has " brought great ability and knowledge to bear on *every* department of his " various duties, and has introduced order and method into the place of " extensive disorganization. He has lightened the task of his successor, " who will nevertheless find that a steady perseverance in the *same* habit of " strict supervision will be essentially necessary for a very long period.

" Mr. Cust highly merits the favourable notice of Government."

Extract of letter from Commissioner of Revenue to the Board of Revenue. Paragraph 54 of No. 572 of November 17, 1854.

" It will be no easy matter to supply the place of Mr. Cust, whose " eminent services entitle him to the highest commendation of Government. " Through the influence of his own example he has introduced a spirit of " emulation among his subordinates, which has greatly facilitated the " various measures designed for the improvement of the District."

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Extract of letter from Secretary to Government, North-West Provinces, to the Board of Revenue, April 13, 1855.

"The Lieutenant-Governor desires me to observe that the report on "Estates under direct Management exhibit the administration of Mr. Cust "as entitled to the highest praise. The result, notwithstanding the many "difficulties against which he had to contend, are singularly successful, and "could not have been obtained without laborious and unwearied attention, "and the exertion of marked vigour and ability. The eminent zeal, ability, "and intelligence, of which Mr. Cust has given proof in the reform of "Revenue affairs at Banda have gained the special confidence and marked "approbation of Government. It is the intention of the Lieutenant-"Governor to print at the public charge for general distribution a series "of the useful treatises, prepared by Mr. Cust, on different branches "of official duty, including his Manual of Direct Management. The "publication will not be authoritative, but for the information and "assistance of other officers, as embracing a wide range of valuable and "practical remarks and suggestions."

Extract of letter from Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, to the Directors of the East India Company, October 3, 1855.

"Paragraph 168. His Honour remarked with satisfaction, that the "Collector of Hamirpúr followed the useful example of Mr. Cust at "Banda in the systematic instruction of his subordinates in Revenue "and Law Procedure. Such public-spirited efforts, in addition to the "heavy duties of the Collector, were deserving of honourable mention. "His Honour perused with the closest attention the important remarks "recorded by Mr. Cust, and the Board, on the prospects of Banda. "Mr. Cust had, by the exercise of great intelligence, promptitude, and "strictness, been highly successful in realizing the Revenue. His Honour "had in orders, dated April 13 last, recorded the approbation, which "was eminently due to the high ability of that officer, and to the "untiring devotion of public spirit to his varied and arduous duties."

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" Paragraph 188. The report exhibited the administration of Mr. Cust " as entitled to the highest praise. The result is singularly successful, " and could not have been obtained without laborious and unceasing " attention; and the exertion of marked vigour, and the ability, and " eminent zeal, of which Mr. Cust has given proof in the Reform of the " Revenue affairs of the district, have secured for him the special confidence " and approbation of Government."

The district of Banda was a garden of the Cotton Plant, depending upon the supply of rain: just across the River Jamna there was another district, the soil of which was suitable only to Sugar-cane, and, depending on irrigation, did not require rain. The consequence was, that in the Hindu Temples and Mahometan Mosques of the two districts, prayers were being offered at the same time for *more rain, and for no rain at all*, according to the particular requirements of the cultivator of Cotton or Sugar-cane. How much wiser it would be, both in India and Europe, to leave the control of the Seasons to a wise Providence, who knows what is best! I remember an old cultivator of five acres smarting under want of rain, remarking, that he wondered how it could be that the great Creator, who made the World, did not know what amount of rain was required for his five acres, and in what month.

One peculiar succession of circumstances, like a great drama, had clung round me from 1845 to 1855, and was destined to burst out again in 1865. Act I of this drama represented the death of my poor friend Captain Dashwood at Múdki: I sat by his side, while the cannonade of Ferozshahr a few miles off was roaring over us. He made me his Executor, and told me that his poor wife would have little beyond her pension. However, I sold his house at Simla, and remitted £1,200 to the widow, and filed my accounts as Executor in the proper office at Calcutta.

Act II. Seven years elapsed, and in 1852 I was at breakfast in my house at Banáras, where I was Joint-Magistrate, when a buggy drove up to my door containing a man, apparently infirm and walking lame,

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and a young girl. Under the idea, that they were travellers and had mistaken their house, I invited them in, and offered the girl a cup of tea. While I was so doing, I felt a hand on my shoulder and heard a voice say, that *I was arrested*: it was a mere form, but an important one. I had the man kicked out of the house at once by my Native servants, but he had served his writ. The bailiff apologized for the trick, which he had played, and pleaded the difficulty of serving a Calcutta Supreme Court Warrant in an up-country District, and of arresting the Magistrate of a great city: it was true. I recollect a bailiff trying to arrest an officer of a Regiment, who craftily had him sent off as "a deserter from an English Regiment a thousand miles off." On another occasion a bailiff was clapped into the Police lock-up, and his case allowed to stand over *sine die*. Had I had the slightest notice by telegraph of this warrant, I should have dodged my friend the bailiff. On writing to Calcutta I found, that my friend Captain Dashwood had borrowed £700 of the husband of his wife's sister, who was a partner in a mercantile house. At the time of his death the brother-in-law *orally* forgave his Sister-in-law the debt, but did not cancel the Deed, and kept the fact secret from me the Executor. The mercantile house failed: the Deed was found in their Deed-Box. My accounts filed officially revealed the fact, that I had paid £1,200 to the widow; the official assignee called on me to pay the £700 loan, and £500 interest on that amount. Mrs. Dashwood refused to refund, and after taking the opinion of the best Counsel, I was told that under the Statute of Frauds I must pay, and I did pay it. I remember my great trouble: I did not much care for the money, but I did not like to be robbed. I left India in 1855, and, with the exception of two letters, all the records of the transaction perished in the Mutinies of 1857, and I tried to forget it also. Thus ended Act II.

Act III. In 1865, in the midst of my deep domestic sorrow, a lawyer called on me in my Sister's house at Calcutta, produced a Deed, and asked me to sign a paper as Executor to Captain Dashwood—*only a signature, no trouble*. Captain Dashwood at the time of his death, twenty years before,

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was holder of shares in the Assam-Tea-Company; it was then in its infancy, and the shares paid nothing. Since then it had grown, and there was now many hundred pounds standing to the account of the deceased, *and his widow was anxious to get it.* I was in such a state of mind, that I told the man to go, that I would sign nothing, do nothing: so he went. While I was in London another man called, hoped my health was better, and repeated the same story. I referred him to my Brother, and another lawyer-friend; they employed a Solicitor, who verified the fact of the existence of the Assam-Company's shares, and their value, made out an account between the Estate and me, and recommended me to sell the shares, get the whole sum into my Bankers in a separate account, recoup myself, and offer the remainder to the widow. Unluckily I could claim no interest of my money from 1855 to 1865, as it was an affair between me, an Executor, and an Estate in trust in my hands; so I recovered my principal at last, losing about £600. This is a warning to young men in India: yet I do not see, how I could have acted differently, considering that the legatee kept back from me the fact of this loan, and the Mercantile House never cancelled the Deed. At the age of 24 I was scarcely sharp enough to grasp the possibility of such a fraud. In the midst of so many special blessings conferred on me I cannot complain at having been robbed at the rate of £30 per annum for twenty years, while so many had lost their lives and everything.

On February 24, 1855, I had completed 34 years, and on the 26th I made over my District to my successor in perfect order, as he kindly reported in his own letters. On March 1 I had a sad parting with my subjects, for I again had had the privilege of winning their affection, and, as my successor drove me out of the town of Banda, we found for a long distance rows of men seated on each side to bid me Farewell, and some shedding tears. My successor expressed his astonishment;

"The Indian District": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 244.

"Manual of Magistrate's Office in Urdu": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 1,013.

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I felt deeply grateful. I had finished my seven Manuals of Practice in the Urdu Language for instruction of Native officials before I left: nothing seemed left undone.

My plan was to cross India to Bombay in a Palanquin, but the Palanquin broke down, and I had to substitute a dooley. I pressed on night and day to Ságur, passed the Bhilsa Tope, which I stopped to inspect, Bhopál, and Indore; pushed on thence in a bullock-cart, crossed the River Nerbáda, and the River Tapti; thence took the Mailcart, and on the 17th March reached Bombay, and on the 19th went on board the steamer for Suez; reached Aden on the 27th. As we passed up the Red Sea we sighted our consort-steamer on her route from Suez to Aden, and, as she neared us, she put up a board, on which we could read the words "Emperor Nicolas dead." On April 3 we reached Suez, and heard all the news. I pressed on to Alexandria, and took steamer to Trieste, and passing through Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, and Calais, reached London on the 21st. As we left Calais, we passed the fleet of Napoleon III returning from England after his visit to Queen Victoria. On the 22nd I again met my Parents at Windsor, and was at home again.

I at once entered myself at Lincoln's Inn with a view of keeping my terms during my furlough, and being called to the Bar. I had to attend courses of lectures: one course was given by Sir Henry Maine, who was destined to be my friend and colleague in the Legislative Council of India. The actual term was kept by dining so many times each term in Hall. I settled down in furnished apartments, but I had plenty of visits to pay to relations, and I was constantly at Windsor with my dear Parents. I visited all my old Schools, Turnham Green 1828, Pinner 1829, Yately 1829, Mitcham 1830, and had a week in Paris. It was an easy, happy time, and I had plenty of books to read.

In 1856 I visited my eldest brother at Ellesmere. I went over to Shavington, the residence of my Mother's Father, the Earl of Kilmorey, which I had visited as a child in 1828. I called with my brother at Combermere, and had an interview with Field-Marshal Viscount Combermere, a very old family-friend, and made a tour in the Manufacturing

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Districts, Sheffield, Birmingham, etc., to go over great Manufactories. I went to call on Lord Macaulay in his Chambers at the Albany, and presented him with a copy of the translation into the Urdu of his Code of Criminal Law, as finally passed into Law: he was much gratified, and I was glad to hear him converse: he asked me to one of his breakfasts, and there I met some of the most illustrious literary men of the time: all have passed away.

On May 10 I was married at St. Peter's, Eaton Square, to Maria Adelaide Hobart, daughter of the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, Dean of Windsor, and brother of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. Her parents were life-friends of my parents, her fortune and her position in life were the same as my own, and we had always called each other by our Christian names, for I had known her since she was a very little child. We passed our honeymoon at Cockayne Hatley, and then settled in London. We attended Her Majesty's Drawing Room on June 20, and on July 27 went on a tour in Germany, the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Italy, reaching Rome October 10, after which we returned to England, and settled for the Winter in London, as I had to keep my terms and attend lectures. I spent Christmas with my Parents, and it was the very last, for before Christmas of next year I was again a solitary wanderer.

This year, 1856, was the last happy year of my life: troubles gathered around me, from which I have never escaped. The Lord's will be done! In 1857 I was settled in London: I had kept ten terms in Lincoln's Inn, and went down to Windsor on February 24, on which day I was 36. I attended a Levée, and was presented to Prince Albert by my Uncle, the Hon. Colonel Cust. I attended the Courts of Law, and the Debates in both Houses of Parliament. On April 25 we paid a month's visit to Paris. On June 27 the news reached London of the Mutiny of the Native Troops at Mírat on May 10, the anniversary of my wedding-day, and I received orders to return at once to India, forfeiting the remainder of the term of my furlough. This was the turning-point of my fortunes: prosperity had attended the first half of my life; all was changed now.

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Last year, 1856, just after my marriage, a letter came from my old Master and Friend, Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, offering me the post of Commissioner of Lahór with a salary of £2,700, if I came out in the Autumn. The post was just what I desired, and had been beyond my most sanguine dreams, but I felt it hard to be deprived of my furlough, and to give up the idea of being called to the Bar, so I wrote to decline. It was against my principles to ask for an appointment, or decline one, when offered, but as events turned out it was well. The troubles of the Mutiny were heavy at Lahór, and I should have arrived with my young wife just as the storm was about to burst, and I felt then, and I feel now, that I should have been unequal to it. In 1857, with a feeling of despair I felt, that I must leave my young wife, and her expected child, behind me in safety and go out alone, with a prospect of Death, for matters seemed desperate. Fortunately no passages were available in Steamers until September 20, and I was allowed two months more, as in fact there were scores of men out of employ already in India, as many Districts were in the hands of the enemy, and it was a mistaken policy to send out useless men.

I was called to the Bar by special favour after only ten terms, and called out of term: there was no precedent, but great sympathy was felt. Lord Justice Knight Bruce presided at my call. I was with my dear Father on his birthday at Cockayne Hatley: he was 77 years of age. I have passed that age myself now, but it seemed then to be very, very old. My eldest child, Albinia Lucy, was born at Langdown, Hampshire, on the 18th October, and was christened in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on December 5. I took my wife and child back to Langdown, her Mother's residence, and left them there. The World seemed closing upon me, when on December 21 I left her, as I thought for ever, to start for India. I went to Windsor, and took leave of my Parents and Sister: I never saw my Father again. I worked my way to Dover by 11 p.m., and went on board the Steamer for Calais. I can hardly realize now the misery of that period. I felt that there was no object in life. When I read, even now, the Evening Private Prayer of that particular day, Monday,

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December 21, which I read on board my crowded Steamer in 1857, the whole thing seems to come back to me. His Holy Will be done! On Christmas Day I was at Vienna, I embarked at Trieste for Alexandria on December 27, and was off Crete on December 31. I have undergone many bitter sorrows since then, but those days can never be forgotten. When I left England I expected never to return to it again, and I made my final arrangements, as a man going out to his death.

During my stay in England I had been preparing myself by study to fill high posts during the next decade. I had drawn up a paper of Resolutions and Maxims to help me in the discharge of my duties, and I can add nothing to it. Similarly my thoughts had been turned to deep Religious Subjects, and I had committed them to paper.

"On Positive Religion": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series III, p. 440.
"Resolutions and Maxims": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series III, p. 587.

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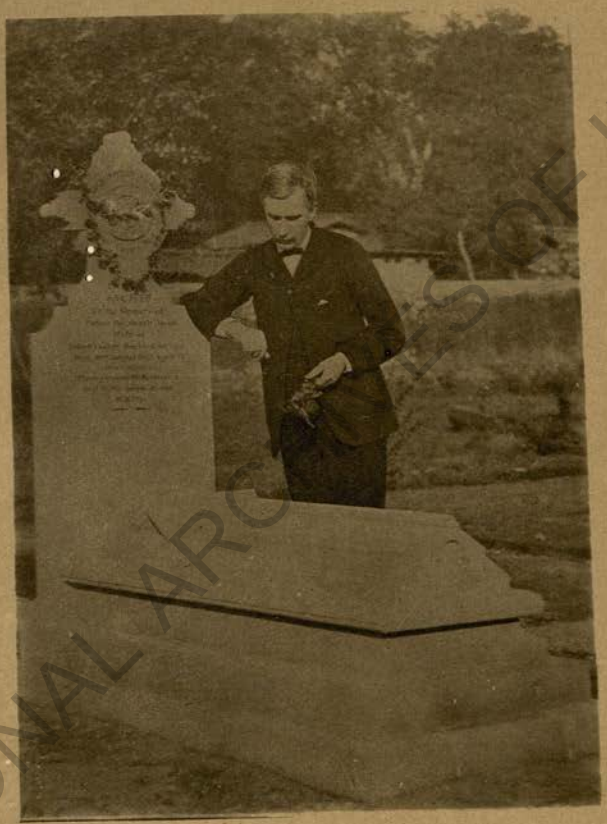

FAREWELL TO INDIA.

The abrupt end of a prosperous career

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Chapter IV.

PERIOD IV.

EXILE IN INDIA. NO. III: 1858–1867.

(1) Restoration of Order after a Rebellion, 1858.
(2) High Offices of the State, 1859–1864.
(3) Bereavement, Grief, Despair, 1864.
(4) Vain attempt to return, and complete my term of Service, 1866.
(5) Final Return to England with my task unaccomplished, 1867.
(6) General Remarks at the close of my Indian career.

¶ REACHED Alexandria on January 2, 1858, and took train to Cairo: there was a frightful crowd on board the Steamer "Nubia" at Suez, as the shaft of the Steamer of the previous month, the "Alma," had broken down, and all its passengers, including several Companies of Soldiers, were transferred to our Steamer. I secured my berth in a four-berth cabin by lying down upon it, until people settled down. My old friend Richard Temple was one of the unhappy passengers of the "Alma," and I saw a great deal of him. We landed at Calcutta on January 28. Lord Canning, the Governor-General, was at Allahabad, as the Mutiny had been checked, if not crushed, and the work of restoration had commenced. I dined with Lady Canning at Government-House; she was one of my wife's Cousins. The new arrivals soon became aware, that they were not wanted, as there were no appointments vacant. On February 6 I visited my Sister, Mrs. Seton-Karr, at Jessore: the effects of the Mutiny had not been felt there. I had no alternative but to go to Allahabad and wait. Good luck attended me. I had an interview with Lord Canning,

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and expressed my readiness to go anywhere, and do anything. Just then the Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad, who had served through the worst days of the Mutinies, broke down in health, and I took his appointment; it was delightful to be at work again on March 18, though there was scarcely a house to live in. However, another change came over my circumstances.

One day we attended officially the ceremony of opening the Railway from Allahabad to Cawnpoor. As we stood on the Platform, Lord Canning beckoned to me to come to him, and he led the way into the nearest door of the unfinished Station, as he wanted a private word. The room, into which we entered, was the Public Lavatory, but it did not much signify. He then told me, that Sir John Lawrence had written to ask for my services as Commissioner of Lahór, the very post, which I had refused in 1856. Lord Canning did not wish to lose my services from the North-West Provinces, and asked me whether I particularly wished to go. Of course, I did wish very much to get back to my old Province of the Panjáb, and my old Master, but I thought it politic to say, that I would do exactly as Lord Canning wished: he was good enough to say, that he wished me to stay with him. In a week I had a letter from Sir J. Lawrence insisting on my coming: he had written to Lord Canning to say, that he must have his old officers back, as so many had fallen, or were disabled: so on April 5 Lord Canning ordered me to go. It was no easy matter to fight my way across to Agra, as the Rebels and Mutineers were still out in arms: however, I took my chance, and worked my way in a mailcart with one horse to Cawnpoor, Agra, Dehli, Ambála, Amritsar, and reached Lahór, and assumed my office as Commissioner. It was indeed a wondrous surprise to have this high office, whilst still so young in the service. At Cawnpoor I visited the Well and the Barracks, so well known in the Mutiny Annals. As I entered the town, I found the road blocked by a mob, and found myself in front of the Gallows, on which a poor fellow was about to be hanged. Seeing me he called out "Salaam, Sahib," and then fearlessly jumped off with the rope round his neck, and I watched the breath struggling in the

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poor body. I received warning not to proceed, as the rebels were crossing the great Northern road and passing from Gwalior to Rohilkand: however, I had received my orders to go, and I reached Agra in safety. I went over the fortress, and then pushed on to Dehli. I found myself among friends now, and went over the city, and heard all the sad story. I visited the old Emperor of Dehli in the Palace: he was seated on the ground with his young wife and a baby: all the old State-Ceremony was gone: he was starting off as a life-prisoner to Barma: all his sons had been killed, and every vestige of the ancient Mogul Empire destroyed. I asked him why he was so foolish as to join the Mutiny; he replied, that it was 'Kismat' (his fate). On my road further North I had to draw up my mailcart more than once on the side, as I felt clouds of dust, saw the flaring of torches, and heard the tramp of men and horses, for some English regiment of Horse or Foot was making its night-march from the Satlaj River, up which River and the Indus they had come from Karáchi. It was an impressive sight.

When I reached Lahór, John Lawrence had gone up to Marree in the Hills. There was a great deal to be done. I found the Telegraph in full working order, and on the 14th of June a telegram came to me to go at once to Gúrdaspúr, to try and sentence some captured Mutineers. It was very hot, but I had to go. I found my men. They had been driven out of Jamu by the Maharája and had fallen into the hands of our Police. The question was, were they Mutineers? Of what Regiment? Had that Regiment killed the Officers and their wives? My nine men stood before me, and in reply to my inquiry denied, that they were soldiers, and pretended to be only poor agriculturists. I was too many for them, for I made a sign to my official, and, while they were talking, a non-commissioned Officer behind the tent-curtain sounded his bugle, and unconsciously obedient to its call, the wretched men at once fell into line, and the fact of their being soldiers was manifest. They then admitted the number of their Regiments, and on referring to my official lists, I found that the English women and children of that Regiment had all been killed. They declared that they had individually opposed the

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massacre, but my orders were explicit to let off as many as possible, but never to spare such cases; so sentence was passed under the special powers conferred by the Legislature, and I had a triangular gallows constructed to hold three on each side; one fatal word was pronounced, and all ceased to live. Their poor wives and children stood around. It was very sad, but, if we were to retain the Empire of India, there was no alternative. These men were mutinous soldiers, not rebellious villagers, all of whom were pardoned.

On September 14 I visited Dera Baba Nanak, the holy city of the Sikh Priesthood, and to my great delight I counted 175 little girls of the Bedi caste: they all owed their life to my Commandment (see p. 29, Cap. II), "Thou shalt not kill thy daughters," issued at Hoshyarpúr in March, 1846. On November 1 we published the Queen's gracious Proclamation of Amnesty to all her Subjects, with the exception of mutinous soldiers for offences committed in 1857–8. On December 1 I met my old chief, John Lawrence, and accompanied him on a visit to the Maharája of Kashmír at Jamu, near Sialkót. The old fox Guláb Singh had died, and his son Ranbír Singh (since dead) was in his place. He had done good service at Dehli, and we all went up to Jamu to do him honour. He gave us a magnificent dinner, sitting himself quite clear of the contamination of our *food*, and we had a grand Durbár, making him magnificent presents, and receiving each of us jewels in return, which were all ruthlessly swept into the Government-Treasury. However, the Maharája at the close came to John Lawrence, and me, and one or two of his other old friends, with little Kashmír scarfs in his hand, and placed one on each of our necks, "as a memorial of his gratitude and love." We were allowed to keep these, and I have mine to this day, though sadly eaten by moths, hanging on a screen before me, "reliquiae Danaum."

Affairs were settling down, so that it became possible to the Civil Officers to send for their families from England. On December 4 I received a telegram from Bombay, that my wife and child had arrived at that place, and were starting to Karáchi. I started to Multán to meet her on her Steamer on the River Indus. I was alone in my tent in the great Jungle

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on Christmas Day, and on the last day of 1858 I embarked in a country-boat and floated down the River Chenáb. On the 8th of January, 1859, we saw the smoke of a Steamer. It stopped at my signal, when I was near to it. I rushed up the side, and found her on the deck: the Lord be praised! Her eldest child was with her. I had arranged everything for her comfort at Multán, and it was like a triumphant procession to our new house at Lahór, which we reached on January 18.

During the year 1858 I had to work hard to sweep up the arrears of 1857, as all civil administration had been suspended. I was regular in my Office, but I found time for literary work. I described the state of Allahabad during the Mutinies in a paper, "A District during a Rebellion." I wrote another on the Civil Courts and Law of the Panjáb. I wrote letters in Indian Newspapers: I found time for reading.

On February 7 the first sod of the Railway from Lahór to Amritsar and the North-West Provinces was turned. Sir John Lawrence made his farewell speech; he was about to leave for England, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

On this occasion I met an officer of the Army (Lord Clarina). We had met three times: the first time in 1852 at Constantinople, where we were at the same Hotel, and went about together: the second time at Cawnpoor in the middle of the night; our beds were side by side; he was gone before I awoke: the third time at Aden, where his Regiment was stationed, he came on board my Steamer. He has died since. I mention these as instances of the chance-meeting of acquaintances in foreign countries.

On February 10 an administrative change took place. The size of the Lahór Division was too large, and so it was divided, and I was offered the

"An Indian District during a Rebellion": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, p. 224.

"Civil Justice of the Panjáb": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series I, p. 198.

"Dirge of the East India Company": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series III, p. 322.

"The Indian Reformer": Pictures of Indian Life, p. 194.

"Detur Digniori, or Patronage in India": L. & O. Essays, Series II, p. 164.

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choice of the moiety attached to Lahór, or the new Division at Amritsar. I chose the latter, and Richard Temple succeeded me at Lahór. My family moved to Amritsar, where I had a capital house and an interesting charge. I went into Camp, and made a tour of my Division, and then settled down for the Summer. It was a beautiful country: Sialkót and Adínanágar resembled my first District of Hoshyarpúr, to which I paid a visit, and thought of old days. I found time to write on the Examination System, and a series of lives, especially one of Nanak, the founder of the Sikh Religion.[1]

On October 23 my eldest son, Peregrine Bertie, was born in my house at Amritsar. A few hours afterwards a violent Earthquake shook the house and the room where the child was. In a superstitious age this would have been supposed to have meant something. He was christened in the Station-Church. I went into Camp alone, as my duties as Judge compelled me to hold my Sessions. I visited the battlefield of Sobráon, and thought of old days. I got back to Amritsar for the last week of the year, and thanked God for being permitted to have my wife and my children with me for the *first* time under my Indian Home: and it proved to be the *last* one. His Holy Will be done! My great comfort was, that my duties, both Judicial and Revenue, and my official Correspondence of all kinds, were in the highest state of order.

In January, 1860, I was offered the post of Financial Commissioner of the Panjáb. Before I left, the Governor-General, now Viceroy, and Lady Canning arrived, and I had to show them the wonderful city of Amritsar. The Sacred Tank was illuminated in their honour, and we had a great Durbár at Lahór. I accompanied the Viceregal Camp into the interior of the District, and took their Excellencies out on Elephants to witness a hawking expedition. On March 21 I moved to Lahór, and took charge of my new office. In April I conducted my wife and our two children to the beautiful Hill Station of Dharamsála, and left them there in a sweet little house, belonging to my late friend William Arnold. She had plenty

[1] "Family in India": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V.
"Pictures of Indian Life" (1881).

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of nice neighbours, and I returned to my solitary house at Lahór to get through the hot months. On July 7 I received a brief summons from Dharamsála to come, for my eldest child was dying. I lost no time: the heat was overpowering, but by rail, by dog-cart, and on horseback, I traversed the distance. At each place I found a bulletin, which seemed worse and worse. One of my servants met me at Nurpúr with my hill-pony, and a message, that there was little hope. At the foot of the hills of sweet Dharamsála I had a brief message from a friend (who died many years ago), "She still lives." I climbed the hill, and found her still alive, and I was thankful: but her life was spared, even to this day. On the 10th a severe earthquake took place. As she got better, the necessity was made manifest, that my wife and children must return to England, and my newly-made home be broken up. On November 8 I took them all to Calcutta, made over my office to my successor, and took Privilege-leave. On December 1 I reached my Sister's house at Calcutta, and on the 9th shipped off my wife and children by Steamer to England. All seemed over, but I had heavier troubles to come. I started back to the Panjáb, and visited *en route* my own dear District of Banda. I walked over the site of my old house, where I had spent so many happy hours, and the Treasury where I had, on leaving for England, stored my books, pictures, and correspondence of fourteen years: all had been destroyed in the Mutinies. One little book of Poetry, with my name in it, had been picked up by an Officer of the Army, which reconquered the Province, and he sent it to me. The little Station-Church, in which I had so often read prayers, had escaped harm, and I found on the reading-desk the large Bible and Prayer Book which I had presented. The Rebel Nawáb had reserved them for his own Library, and they were recovered and replaced in the Church. On January 15, 1861, I reached Dehli, where I commenced the duties of my new and temporary office, to visit all the Districts of the Panjáb, inspect and advise as to the mode of conducting business, and rearrange the establishment of Native Officials. I visited the Salt-Mines on the Jhelum, and climbed up Mount Síkésar, went over the great battlefields of Chilliánwála and Gujeránwála of the Panjáb Campaign, now at a distance of

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ten years, crossed the Indus, and at length, with my work of Inspection accomplished, found myself at Lahór on Easter Day, 1861, and took charge of my new office of Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb. There seemed no limit to my official good fortune above my fellows, and to my domestic misfortunes. We cannot have everything in this world. I heard of the birth in England of my second son, Robert Henry Hobart, on May 13, and of the death of my dear and honoured Father on May 19, at the age of 81.

I lived alone in my deserted home: I had plenty of work, and health, and strength. In July we were aware, that Cholera was creeping up country, and in August and September 500 soldiers of the European Regiment fell victims in the Military Station of Meán Meer, a distance of five miles from Lahór, and my friend Colonel Irby died also. Our duty in the Civil Station was to supply about thirty coffins every day. In October and November I commenced my official tours. Among the places visited were my own dear Hoshyarpúr, and Ferozpúr, where I knelt at Major George Broadfoot's grave. They seemed like old-world history now, those events of 1845 and 1846, for we live very fast in India, and sixteen years of sorrow and joy, of peace and war, had passed over me. All the officers of that time had passed away, were dead, or their names but shadows, and I was the oldest member of the Panjáb Service, for I was there before John Lawrence, or any of the illustrious Military and Civil Rulers, who were still in power. I had joined the Corps of Volunteers as a Private, and attended all their drills. I was doing much literary work, and helping to reform and solidify our Judicial System. One incident deserves notice. In our early years the average of capital executions in the Panjáb amounted to one daily; as time wore on it fell to about one weekly: my desire was to reduce it still further, and as no case could occur without my leave, I succeeded. Others thought differently. Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief, known as Lord Strathnairn, made a violent attack on this policy: he had been Consul-General in Turkey, and the destruction of human life

"On the subject of Violent Crime on the Afghan Frontier, 1863": L. & O. Essays, Ser. III.

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seemed to him the chief feature of a vigorous and healthy administration. I replied to this attack, and the Government approved. My letter is printed among my Essays. We were taught in the Panjáb to have an iron hand in a velvet glove: a firm rule, but soft words, and conciliation: no bullying, nor favouritism. Another point I helped to carry, which I had started at Banda, viz., the execution of Criminals within the Prison-walls. After the Mutinies permanent gallows were erected in every Station, and the English of both sexes used to saunter down in the evening to see men hanged: it was wrong morally, and dangerous politically. I helped to have every gallows destroyed, and executions conducted inside the Prison-walls.

Another important subject had to be handled firmly. I had belonged from the very first, 1843, to supporters of the principle, that it was our duty to Evangelize, and all the leading Panjáb officials were of the same School, but *not* by the Arm of the Flesh, or official influence, or favouritism. After the Mutinies there were signs of a fanatical spirit, and a desire to introduce the Bible into the State-Schools, to push Christians forward in Government-offices, to let the Missionaries interfere, to preach to the Prisoners in Gaols. To all this I was totally opposed, and successfully; it would have been followed by appropriation of Hindu and Mahometan places of Public Worship, State-grants to Missions, disabilities to Non-Christians, and all those features, which disgraced the conversion of Europe in the Middle Ages. At the same time, at my suggestion the Government withdrew from any connection with the management of Non-Christian places of Worship, such as the Sacred Tank of Amritsar, and the income, which belonged to them. All the Revenue-free Estates, which had been granted by Hindu and Mahometan Rulers, were after investigation registered, and made over to Native Committees. All recognition of Non-Christian customs was allowed to fall out of practice. The feet were to be uncovered, when sacred places were visited, or special stockings put on, on the ground of not injuring the marble pavements. I remember conducting the Viceroy, Lord Canning, to the sacred Sikh Temple in the centre of the Lake: we looked very ridiculous in our thick stockings,

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drawn over our shoes, and at my earnest request he did not follow the example of his predecessors, and lay a bag of 500 rupees in the temple as an offering: however, the Priest called round at the Office-tent, and received his grant privately: it was not the money, but the mode, in which the money was offered, to which I objected. In the Panjáb, Public Officers never paid visits to Temples on solemn occasions, or had wreaths placed round their necks, as I had seen in other parts of India. I refer to the description which I published at the time.

At the same time I held that Public officials must not be ashamed of, or neglect, their own Religion. Lord Canning, without thinking of the matter, ordered his camp to march on Sunday. The Panjáb officials, after dining on Saturday night with the Viceroy, rode that night to the next Station, and were ready in his Lordship's camp to receive His Excellency on Sunday morning on his arrival. He took the rebuke in his own calm and noble manner, and never marched on Sunday again, nor do troops in India move, nor Public works continue, on Sunday. It may seem a small matter, but it means a great deal, for the Non-Christian population kept their own sacred days and holidays. A baptism of some natives took place in the Mission-Chapel in the City of Amritsar. I took an interest in these converts, and accompanied by my wife attended the Chapel for the Baptism. I had done the same years before at Banáras, and been Godfather to the infant. The fact was mentioned in the Press, and I was called upon by the Viceroy to explain my conduct. I had found my opportunity, and I stated boldly that I had as much right in my private capacity to attend the service of my own Religion, as the Mahometan and Hindu had to attend theirs. The Government of the Panjáb entirely agreed with me, and I had a letter from the Viceroy in Council accepting my explanation, and have published it among my Essays. The real principle is to keep clear of the gush, which too often accompanies Religious sensationalism, and stand up for Religious Liberty, Universal Toleration, and Mutual Respect.

"On the subject of Attendance of British Officials at Native Baptisms," 1859: Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series III.

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Time has passed quickly on, and my wife left England for the second time, parting, as it proved, for ever from her two elder children. On November 27, 1861, the Telegraph announced the arrival of my wife and her baby at Bombay. As in the previous year, I started to Multán, and went on board a Steamer for Sukkur: there, on December 8, the anniversary of the day of our parting on the Ganges, the two Steamers met to pass the night. I rushed on board, and found her and her baby. All my troubles seemed to be over; alas, they were not! We steamed up the Rivers Indus and Chenáb to Multán: all my arrangements for carriages were perfect, and we reached Lahór on the 22nd December, and knelt down side by side in our own house. The year 1861 ended happily: the accounts of the children at home were good. There were two years allowed to us to live in this house, and then the light of my life was destined to be extinguished for ever.

In January, 1862, I was offered a seat on the Legislative Council of India. On a full consideration I declined it, but it was of no use, for I was compelled to take it in 1864. I trembled at the idea of taking my wife to Calcutta, little thinking that she was to die in the very house, in which she was at that moment sleeping. The news of the death of Prince Albert reached us. On March 1 the Railway was opened to Amritsar, and I heard that I was to continue in my office as Judicial Commissioner. On May 6 there was a sharp earthquake. The news of the war between the Northern and Southern States in North America reached us. I used to write a great deal of Poetry at this time. On June 16 I moved my family to a beautiful house in the new Hill Station at Dalhousie: the heavy rains were upon us, and the streams were swollen. The Cholera appeared at Lahór, and I received orders to return from Dalhousie to Lahór. In September I found that my day-by-day Journal, commenced on quitting England September, 1842, had lasted twenty years. I used to talk with my wife of what we would do when we got back to England, for I was weary of India. My second daughter, Maria Eleanor Vere, was born at Dalhousie on the 30th of September.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places."

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She was christened at Amritsar in the Mission Chapel, and we settled down at Lahór for the Winter on November 3. The Mission Conferences took place in the last week of the year: I presided at some of the Meetings, and read my contributions on Lay Co-operation. In the thirty-six years that have passed since that date I have tried to carry out those principles. The year 1862 closed over us both in peace and happiness: before the end of the next year I was in the furnace of affliction, and the quiet course of my life was hopelessly altered.

On January 6, 1863, I found that twenty years had elapsed since I parted with my Parents at Naples at the outset of my career, and on the 24th of February I was 42 years of age. I had attained some of the highest posts of the State, and had prospects of still higher ones before my eyes, but my ambition was quite gone, and I felt that somehow my heart was not in my work. On May 24, Whit Sunday, while we were at Morning-Service in the Church, there was the sound of a mighty wind, as on the day of Pentecost. I have never forgotten it; it seemed to me like the knell of my life's happiness. On June 6 we left Lahór for Dalhousie, and took a new house. On July 2 there was a sharp earthquake. I was employed in my leisure hours in drafting a Revenue Manual of the Panjáb: it was not printed until 1876. On July 28 my dear wife completed her thirtieth year: it was her last birthday. On October 20 we left Dalhousie for Lahór, our last journey: we were unconsciously descending into the grave. I had secured the same house for next year, but we were destined never to occupy it again. On the 23rd October my wife reached our quiet home at Lahór, and was destined never to leave it. The Viceroy, Lord Elgin, died on November 20 at Dharamsála. I had never seen him, but he was on his road to Lahór. The Lahór Exhibition was in progress, and I took a great interest in it, and used to preside at the Committees.

On January 6, 1864, my fifth child, Sophia Charlotte, was born at Lahór, the same day as the eldest son of the Prince of Wales, the late Prince Edward; and the wonderful news reached his numerous friends

"Manual of Land Revenue for the Panjáb" (1863).

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at Lahór, that my Master since 1846, Sir John Lawrence, was appointed Viceroy of India. It seemed as if my road to the highest posts of the State were clear; but it was decreed otherwise.

On the 17th my dear wife, Maria Adelaide, died, and India, and the world, ceased to have any charm and interest for me. No one but myself knew the extent of the blow after the repeated trials of 1857 and 1861. All was over now. She was buried next morning in the Cemetery under the Citadel of Lahór, by the side of the first wife of my dear friend Sir Henry Davies. Her coffin was conveyed in our own open barouche to the Cemetery, and a long train of English and Natives followed in the Procession. On a subsequent day the three little children were taken down to her grave: they were all below three years, too young to know their loss or remember anything. To me it was the turning-point of my fortune: from 1844 to 1864 all had been bright, and the appointment of my great Master Sir John Lawrence to be Viceroy opened out to me new vistas of Usefulness and Honour. But there is a tide in the affairs of man, and for me there was no future: I reasoned with myself, but in vain. I rolled up my MSS., closed my books, resigned my high office, and took my unhappy motherless children to Calcutta. The Railway had made the journey easy. On the 13th of February I laid the poor children down at my Sister's door, and with them embarked in the Steamer for England on February 23, the last day of my 43rd year. My career was finished, and I took leave of India, never intending or wishing to return. I knew that it entailed the sacrifice of my Pension, but a great fear had fallen upon me. Sir John Lawrence and many friends remonstrated, but I knew my own strength and my own weakness.

As we approached Malta we became aware of an excitement in the harbour, which was explained by the Italian Liberator, Giuseppe Garibaldi, coming on board our Steamer for a passage to England. We all welcomed the great man as he came on board, and at the dinner-table I was placed by the Captain opposite to him, as I was able to converse with him

"A Life Trial" (a poem): Poems of Many Years and Many Places, Series II.

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in Italian. On deck, in his armchair, he used to take on his knees my little boy, who was dressed in that childish costume known then as the Garibaldi dress. On arriving at Southampton the excitement was tremendous, and I, with my three motherless children and the Nurses, sat in the empty saloon until the crowd had passed off the Steamer, and my brothers-in-law could find their way to my side. I reached Southampton on April 3, and *for the first time* had all my five motherless children around me at Langdown, the residence of my wife's Mother. One only blessing accompanied my return, that I saw once again my widowed Mother, for which we were both grateful.

On June 31 I received a letter from my kind Master, Sir John Lawrence, offering me a seat in the Legislative Council of India, if I could arrange to arrive by November 1 at Calcutta. I had so far recovered myself. I had done my duty to my children, and could be of no use to them in their infancy and childhood; I found that I was in the way at home, and could settle down to nothing, so I agreed to make the attempt. I knew that I could be of use and a comfort to Sir John Lawrence; he, indeed, told me so. The scene was a new one, and the presence of my Sister an important feature. I knelt at my dear Father's grave at Cockayne Hatley, and visited my eldest brother at Ellesmere. I arranged for my five children to be taken care of by their Mother's relatives at a charge of £750 per annum, took leave of them and my Mother, and taking train to Marseilles, I embarked on the Steamer to Calcutta, which I reached on October 28, and took refuge in my Sister's empty house, as she was up-country for the Autumn. On November 4 I was sworn in as a Member of the Legislative Council, and appointed to act for three months as Home-Secretary to the Government of India: the promotion was wonderful, but it gave me no pleasure. I had still the capacity for work: I had delightful duties with most distinguished colleagues: I was every week alone with the Viceroy, at his particular request, to talk over matters confidentially, and it was a comfort to me to think, that I was of use to him in his duties, as he could always depend on me and Richard Temple for honest advice and hearty support. A special

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duty had been assigned me to review the scale of salaries of all the Civil Service in my two Provinces of Allahabad and the Panjáb. The year closed in sadness. I used to walk out alone on the Maidán to watch the setting Sun: I shall never forget the agony of that period: I wrestled with myself, but in vain. Without Hope no effort can be sustained. Kind advice was not wanting. On the expiry of the three months, I made over the Home Office to its permanent occupant, my old friend E. C. Bayley, who has long since passed away. When the Legislative Council rose at the close of the Spring, I made my bow and returned to England, on the 24th of April, 1865. At Cairo I received telegraphic news of the death of my youngest child On May 30 I reached Folkestone. I hoped that it was my final visit to England, but it proved to be not so. I hurried to London and saw my dear Mother. On June 1 I met my two youngest children, who were in London, and on the 8th my two eldest at Mickleham, and I determined to have them together in one house at No. 12, Cavendish Street, Eastbourne, the house, on the doorsteps of which my dear wife had finally parted with her two eldest children to go out to India. This was an event in my life: I had them with me; it was all that the Lord had left me.

Gradually Peace, if not Happiness, stole over me. I had nothing to wish for: I seemed to have played my last card in life. I had a sufficiency for my moderate wants, and my children must be content. To occupy my time I studied the Hebrew Language, and learned to read the Old Testament. There were the ordinary troubles attending the care of young children, but I was ready to do that service. My children all had the whooping-cough, and I caught it from them. We moved to London, in Gloucester Street, Warwick Square, on November 1, and on the 4th I received a letter offering me the post of a Member of the Board of Revenue in the North-West Provinces. Sir John Lawrence felt that I could never go back to Lahór or the Panjáb, so in the excess of his thoughtful kindness he made this offer. More than a year and a half had elapsed since my bereavement: a great desire to be employed again had seized me; this was my last chance: could I find someone, who would

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consent to be my companion in India for two or three years until my term of service was accomplished, and then help me at home in the care of my children? I found one, full of pity and love, and on the 28th, in St. Gabriel's Church, Warwick Square, in the presence of my Mother and a few friends, I was united to Emma Carlyon, daughter of the Rev. Edward Carlyon. She came from the same village, and was of the same age, as my lost wife, in whose Mother's house I met her, and as far as I could see all seemed to promise well.

In January of 1866 I hired a Cottage at Mickleham for my children, with their Nurses and Governess, who received her instructions direct from me. I parted with them on February 23: I had done all that I could for their comfort: my return to India on a high salary made me rich again. On the 24th of February, I and my wife were my Mother's Guests in her house, No. 16, Eccleston Square: here I took leave of her for the last time, for I never saw her again, and we started *viâ* Paris for Marseilles, and went on board our Steamer on the 28th. Lord and Lady Napier of Ettrick were our fellow-travellers to Madras, and most kind they were. On the 23rd of March, off the Point de Galle, my wife fell ill with high fever, and, ere we reached Calcutta, I thought that it was all over, and that she was gone. My Sister came down to the Steamer, and took her to her well-known home. I followed in a state of great despondency; however, she pulled through, and on the 16th April we started by train to Allahabad. We passed the 17th in the Resting House of the Darjeeling Junction; the 18th we spent at Arrah, and on the 19th reached the hospitable roof of a dear friend at Mirzapúr. I left my wife, and went on to Allahabad to take charge of my new appointment on the 19th, and returned to Mirzapúr; on the 22nd we both settled in our new home at Allahabad, but my wife was weak and poorly, and it was the beginning of the hot season, and I could not possibly obtain leave. How much I wished that I had not returned to India! Of course I delighted in my new duties: it was a proud thing to have been selected to the chief post in the Revenue Department of both the great Provinces of the Panjáb and Allahabad, both of which I knew so well. In the Winter

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months I went out into camp, and visited all the Districts of the North-West Provinces. I doubt whether it ever fell to the lot of any public officer to visit all the Districts, and inspect all the work, of every part of the vast Region of North India. I attended the great Durbár on the occasion of the Exhibition at Agra, and I visited Mírat and Dehli once more. My dear wife accompanied me; she was never strong, and I counted the months for our getting back to England with my term of Service done, but she enjoyed the Camp-Life. We visited Oudh and the ancient city of Ajodhya. I heard with grief of the death of my dear Mother, and of the Mother of my first wife. Asthma began to cling to me: I had felt it first in 1851 in Kashmír: I had inherited it from my Mother. In April, 1867, I settled at Allahabad for the hot weather. Both my wife and I did a good deal of literary work. My attention was also called to the necessity of codifying the Revenue-Laws of my two Provinces, which were now to be found only in Regulations issued from time to time, and as the preparatory step I brought together, in a collective form, all the existing Orders, which had the force of Law, analogous to the Pandects of Justinian, with a view of subsequent legislation. The death of Bishop Cotton of Calcutta by drowning greatly distressed us. I went to the Railway-Station with my wife to shake hands with my old friend and Master, Sir John Lawrence, on his road to Simla.

At this season the heat was tremendous, and my wife felt it severely: it was her second Summer in India: I find, however, in my journal of that time, "All seems bright," and "we are very happy." I had a charming colleague, numerous kind neighbours, most excellent medical attendants. I used to lament my want of leisure, for in addition to my heavy official work, my pen was always busy with Poetry and Prose. I had good accounts of my children: they at least were safe, happy, and well. I quite knew, that in the eyes of my friends an additional decade of useful and interesting employment in high Offices of the State was in store for me:

"The Revenue Law of North-West Provinces" (1867).
"Poems of Many Years and Many Places."
"Fifteen Months in India," by E. C. (1867).

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I cared not for it; *all ambition was dead in me*: only the desire remained to be useful, and employ the talents, which the Lord had given me, for the benefit of my dear people of India. On July 14, 1867, I made my last entry in my Journal in India: I had kept it week by week for nearly twenty-five years since September, 1842. But now something occurred, and I did not take up my pen, or make the next entry in my Journal, until the lapse of a whole year, when I was settled at Eastbourne in England.

On July 13 my wife had a shiver, and the evil commenced, which ended in her death on August 10, after a month of careful nursing and most devoted attention on the part of the medical men. On July 15 I was told, that there was no hope for her life, and this proved true. The heat of the weather was intense: I slept at intervals, but was never absent from the sick bed. Cholera was raging in the Station, and many died. On August 10 my wife was delivered prematurely of a little girl, only a seven months child, and shortly afterwards expired. From that moment the world became a blank to me: everything was gone, gone for ever: it was from the Lord. The child was hastily baptized by a Native Clergyman, whom I sent for, by the name of Emma: the poor Mother was placed away in that Cemetery, in which she had so lately walked with me, and which she had described in one of her beautiful sketches, and my grief was poignant, that I had been the cause of a second sweet young woman leaving her home to die in India, only to die: a grave in each of the Capitals of the two great Provinces, at Lahór and Allahabad, records my unhappy destiny. A kind lady took charge of the child, and carried it off to her house: our home was dismantled, and everything sold. I took refuge in a room in the house of the kind Chaplain. Days of darkness followed. I visited Agra to see a friend, and found kind sympathy everywhere. I visited my Sister at Calcutta for a few days to make a break in my life, and then came back to my official business, which I transacted with dogged determination. I carried through to completion my Digest of Revenue Law, working alone in a darkened

"Fifteen Months in India," by E. C., p. 20 (1867).

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room, and taking solitary walks morning and evening. It was wonderful, that my strength held out. I used to peep through the garden-fences, and see my happy neighbours, husbands and wives, parents and little children, and I used to ask, why I was thus tortured. The answer came after a lapse of years. All those friends, young and old, have passed away many years ago: after the lapse of thirty-one years I am still in the land of the living, strong and well. My services were required in another field. This friend, who took care of the poor child, and that friend, who came to pack up my property and her property; those who listened to the words of my deep despair, and tried to rouse me by the dream of worldly ambition:

> "Some urged him to his duties to return:
> "Shake off the thought of her, and bravely learn
> "A hard and stern Philosophy, and try
> "To look on Good or Ill with equal eye":

all of them have long since passed away, and I still live on, and am thankful to God, that I have been to a certain degree useful.

I used to attend on Sundays the Native Church, as I had not the heart to sit in my old seat in the English Church without my wife by my side. On one occasion I had the pleasure of hearing Bishop Milman preach in the Urdu Language, and quite understood him, as did the Native Christians by my side. I impressed this fact recently on Dr. Welldon, the Bishop-Elect of Calcutta, and he promised to make the attempt, which to a scholarly man like him was possible. At the Lord's Table I knelt betwixt two Native Christian women, friends of my wife, and received my last Sacrament in India in the language of the people, whom I loved so much.

I had to wait, and work on, until after the lapse of three months the child was fit to move to England. I had to ask permission to resign my appointment with a view of leaving India for ever. Complimentary letters were not wanting, and official regrets. I feared madness more than bodily illness or death: my body was strong, but my

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 148.

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self-control was going. In the solitude of an Indian Bungalow, after the business of the day had been despatched, in my excited state of feelings, and with my overtaxed brain, and excitable temperament, I might be tempted to some rash action. I am still of opinion that I acted well and wisely. Had I stayed on, I should probably have been Secretary to the Government of India, or Member of the Viceregal Council, or Lieutenant-Governor, all of which posts my friends deemed me qualified for, and I should have enjoyed them. Some of my contemporaries had suffered like bereavements, but they were enabled to fill their course. Handles to my name of a temporary character would have come, but they would have been of little value to the member of a noble and hereditary-titled family. If I could have resided nine more months, I should have had a Pension of £1,000 per annum, instead of £450. This amounts up to this date to a loss of £17,000 on diminished Pension only, and in the large salaries of £8,000 as Councillor, or £10,000 as Lieutenant-Governor, there would have been further accumulations. All this I realized then as now, and I lost what to me seemed most important, the priceless opportunity of introducing Reform in our system of Administration, and conferring benefits on the people of Northern India, whom I loved so well, and advancing with an advancing age.

On November 25, 1866, with my poor child, who had thriven wonderfully, and was now three months old, I left Allahabad, and again hid myself in my Sister's kind house. The Medical Board passed my sick leave to England at once, as the only chance for my mental health was entire change of scene. During the sad days betwixt my arrival and departure a letter from an old College-friend came to me, begging me to come over to his house at once, as his wife was dying. I went and found her just passing away, and sat by the side of her distracted husband the whole night. Sorrow as well as Joy unite the whole human race. The day before I started I was implored to look after a poor young girl, who, under the age of 20, was left a widow, and without any resources. She had come out the previous year, and kind friends were sending her home to her parents. I did my best for her: there were other cases of widows,

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and widowers, on board the Steamer. On December 8 I went on board the Steamer with the child. The Viceroy, Sir J. Lawrence, rode down on horseback, and came on board to shake me by the hand, and bid me Farewell. How I longed to recover my mental strength, and stay to serve him! I left India for the fifth and last time. Lord and Lady Napier of Ettrick sent me kind letters of condolence, when we reached Madras. Many friends on board helped me in my hopeless despair. On December 31 I landed at Suez, and took rail to Cairo and Alexandria. I knew that my cousin, Colonel Clark-Kennedy, was in Egypt, and presumably at Cairo: I inquired where he was at the moment, and the reply was, that he had died the preceding day at Alexandria. On arrival there I found, that his remains had been sent on board a troopship to be conveyed to England. I visited the room, in which he had died, and I knelt down by the bed, on which he had died, and thanked God, that at least my life had been spared: "Oh let me have Grace to make use of it to the benefit of my fellow-creatures!" What I feared most was despondent idleness, an impaired intellect, and such a vegetable existence, as is the fate of many. To me Life must be real, must be earnest, if it is to be Life at all. The voyage from Calcutta to Suez had restored me to consciousness of the Past, and a clearer view of the Future, and I felt keenly, that with blasted hopes, ruined fortunes, legitimate ambitions crushed, opportunities of usefulness gone, I was creeping home like a cur, which had been flogged, or like a soldier, who had been cashiered, with one poor motherless child to add to the four other motherless children already in England. I prayed that I might have strength to get this child safe to her Mother's Home, and see my four elder children once more, and then lie down and die. The struggle had been too much for me. I threw up the sponge, and gave in, and could strive no more. I reached Southampton on January 17, 1867, the third anniversary of the death of my first wife, handed the poor child in excellent health over to her Mother's Sister, and then hurried to Mickleham, saw my children, and shut myself in the little inn near the Cottage which they occupied,

"The two Indian Ships": Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, p. 225.

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and secluded myself from the Society of my Fellows, as I could not tolerate the iteration of a second outpour of condolences, real or conventional. At the age of 47 I had the alternative of dying, or carving out a new life in a new environment. The idea of the vegetable existence of the old Indian at his Club to me seemed intolerable.

GENERAL REMARKS AT CLOSE OF MY INDIAN CAREER,
DECEMBER, 1867.

I dedicated one of my published volumes on Indian Subjects as follows:—

"Tú regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

TO ALL THOSE,
WHO HAVE AN INTEREST IN
THE ART OF GOVERNING SUBJECT-RACES,
WHO HAVE HEARTS TO LOVE THEM,
AND SYMPATHIES WIDE ENOUGH TO CARE FOR THEIR
BEST INTERESTS,
MORAL, MATERIAL, AND SPIRITUAL,
THESE PAGES
ARE DEDICATED.

A quarter of a century in power in India teaches us to reject crude fads of ignorant philanthropists in Europe, such as

(1) Anti-Opium-Trade,
(2) Anti-Liquor-Traffic,
(3) Anti-Cantonment-Arrangements,
(4) Anti-Early Marriages of Natives;
And others;

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and at the same time it creates a great interest in, and love for, the people, a determination, that they shall have the same Courts of Justice and the same Law as the European intruder, that they shall have Free Labour, Free Press, Free Right of Assembly, Free Religion, and Equality in Courts of Justice. On the other hand, there must be no tribal Caste-Law in the Ferries, the Roads, the Railways, the Hospitals, the Gaols, or the Courts of Justice.

We must be met in the same spirit. Natives of India cannot expect the same salaries as Europeans: they are in their own country, climate, and homes, and their expenses are less.

A residence in Great Britain of thirty years after India clears the intellect, and enfranchises the judgment. We think with pity on the philosophy or train of thought, engendered in the prolonged silence of the Indian Civil Station, and the absence of all exterior intercourse in the solitary Indian Camp; the blank years of hateful routine, with no breath of intellectual air from the outside, no germ of new ideas, the result of contact with enlightened contemporaries.

The compilation of an Essay on some particular branch of the subject, the dashing off of a Poem during the morning ride, a dip into the European or Indian Classics, help to keep alive the divine flame, which in many is crushed out by solitude, or official detail, or possibly never came into existence.

Forty years ago I thought deeply, and I think deeply still. In 1857, just before the Mutinies broke out, and I was ordered back to India, I was then

"in mezzo camnino della nostra vita,"

as Dante Alighieri tells us in the first line of his immortal Poem "Il Inferno," and I wrote the following paper, and I kept to it to the end, though that end was premature, and the column of my career stands without its capital.

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RESOLUTIONS AND MAXIMS,

FOR THE GUIDANCE OF A PUBLIC OFFICER IN BRITISH INDIA, RECORDED IN ENGLAND JUST BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE INDIAN MUTINY IN 1857, AND ACTED UPON UNTIL SERVICE ENDED IN 1867.

A. *Resolutions.*

If I am to do anything in this world, if my faculties were given me for any purpose of benefit to my fellow-creatures; if the studies, and experiences, of the last fifteen years in India, if the acquired knowledge of ten languages, and a wide reading of Literature of all ages and countries, are to be of any practical good, now is the time. During the next decade, what is to be done by me must be done.

Let me consider calmly what ought to be done:

1. Professionally, as a Member of the Civil Service in India.
2. Intellectually, as a man of capacity and attainments.
3. Spiritually, as one, who seeks for the Truth, as a humble sinner before God.

Subjects belonging to these three heads are constantly before me: night and day I reflect on what I can do for the People of India: what employment I can give to the talents entrusted to my charge, what road I can find to the Truth, the great Truth, of the relation of the Soul to God.

1. I will, if possible, cause the Judicial Courts in India to be more respected, and more worthy of respect: they shall be no longer dilatory, uncertain, expensive, shackled by vain forms, and odious and ruinous to the poor people. I will expose their shortcomings, suggest reforms,

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introduce ideas from the British and French systems, and secure, that after seven years of joint service the Judicial Officers should be absolutely separated from the Executive, and legal Colleges founded for the training of Native Judges, and a Native Bar.

I must watch the proceedings of the Legislative Council of India, read their reports, weigh well every Bill affecting any Province, remembering, that this is the best training to fit me hereafter for the post of a member of that Council, should it fall to my lot.

I must urge the improvement of our Criminal Law, and the reformation of our Gaols. I trust to see the day, when there will be not a Prisoner seen outside the Gaol. I will never cease to urge a complete separation of the House of Detention of persons under trial from the prison of those who are convicted.

I must urge the examination of the fitness of all Servants of the State, European or Native. I will strive to curb the Demon of Patronage and Nepotism. I trust to see the day, when the State-College will be the only door to Public Service. I trust to see the evil habit of prolix writing reduced, and the abominable mode of recording evidence, now in vogue, done away with. I hope to see more dignity in Office on the part of the presiding Officer.

2. Intellectually, I have much to do both in reading and writing: subjects crowd in my brain, and fill up my notebooks: lives of great Indians for a Vernacular series: a succession of descriptive pictures of the duties of each grade of Public Officers, with the object of inspiring the holders of Office with nobler feelings, a greater love for the people, and a juster appreciation of their position as Rulers for good or ill, Judges of Life or Death, vested with the power of being an angel of Wisdom and Goodness, or a Demon of Ignorance, Stupidity, and Malignity. I wish to read more of the ancient Literature of India, both in its original and translation, to read more of Jurisprudence and Law. I wish to be on a level with all the vast subjects discussed daily, to join in the strife of brave and earnest men battling for the advance of the interests of Mankind, and floating on the foremost wave of the stream of legitimate Reform.

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"Let nothing exist," say I, "which cannot justify its existence, and no person be allowed to live, who does not do something daily for the benefit, physical, moral, or spiritual, of his fellow-creatures."

3. Spiritually, I must constantly read, mark, and learn: watch the great course of events, the customs, and modes of thought, of Nations, the maxims inculcated in the Religious Books of all Nations, ponder on the opinions of all, avoid all dogmatic assertions, get out of the prison of the stupid conservatism of this Century, sweep away all fogs of European mediæval and patriotic tradition, try to grasp the whole of the Almighty Plan, the story of His dealings with the whole of His poor Children, for all of whom His Son died on the Cross, not for the poor unit alone, the mere cypher, the tiny Church, to which we happen by the mere chance of our parentage to belong, a mere fraction of divided Christianity. The whole term of life is not long enough for this consideration, and, if the whole business of life were centred in it, Life would not be thrown away. For why are we here for a brief period? How came we here? What should we do here? Where after life's short passage do we go, and what is Hereafter? These are the questions.

B. *Maxims.*

1. Take a general view of every subject, and consider how far it will affect the interests of others as well as your own.

2. Avoid even the appearance of prejudice: have before your eyes the emptiness of personal squabbles. Measures, *not* men: it is never worth the while of a clever and earnest man to quarrel: it wastes time and ruffles temper, and disturbs the smooth lake-like placidity of the intellect.

3. Write as briefly as possible: strike out every extra word, or superfluous sentence, if you wish your writings to be read. The reports of special correspondents, and the Leaders of the best Newspapers,

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show you the errors, which you should strive to avoid, Egoism, Mannerism, Prejudice.

4. Never use uncommon, or foreign, or uncourteous, or sarcastic words: never give even the chance of being charged with duplicity.

5. Never despatch a letter of reproof to a Subordinate, or a reply to a reproof of your Superior, until one night has elapsed after receipt of their letter. Consult your pillow.

6. If misinterpreted, reflect on the abuse and defamation, which every public man undergoes in Great Britain: let your character be known by the general tenour of the whole course of your actions, and writings. No one would believe a charge of injustice brought against Aristides, or of immodesty against a Vestal Virgin. Consider also that, if the world knew the secrets of your life, as well as you know them yourself, how would you escape.

7. Never under any circumstance apply for any Office, any Reward, or any Honour, and never decline any Office tendered to you *personally* by the Government.

8. Profit by the censure of others on your acts, and writings, if their knowledge of the facts compel you to admit, that they are qualified to form a judgment: pass quietly over the censure of the unqualified, but still reflect, whether you deserved it, or not, and take a hint for future guidance.

9. Nothing can be done without system and order, but do not let your routine degenerate into red-tape: your system represents the means, and not the object: do not let the spirit of what has to be done degenerate into formalities: avoid delay; "bis dat qui cito dat": dispose of everything at once: never let arrears accumulate: never touch up matters disposed of, and chew useless cuds: marshal your business, so as to dispose first of what is most urgent: do not let one tedious train of thought block your official Railway: get rid of all your light business, so as to clear your table. "Mens a mensâ noscitur": an orderly mind has an orderly business-table, and the pigeonholes of the writing-desk help the pigeonholes of the brain.

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10. Steer the middle course between ultra-liberalism and stupid conservatism: do not assert that because a thing is, therefore it must be wrong: on the other hand, do not acquiesce in a thing remaining, unless sufficient reason can be shown for allowing it to remain.

11. Do not stick to your opinions for consistency's sake: the world is a stage, on which the scenes are always shifting: the basement of everlasting Truth remains: the environment from time to time is altered: the wisest live and learn: but before you change, see that you *get no personal advantage from the change*, for then you are selling yourself, and that your change is not *sudden*, and *groundless*, for then you act like a poor fool. Sometimes, for no reasons, that are other than subjective, a man shifts his moorings, if he is a mere speculator, or his bearings, if he is active as well as observant. But sometimes an able man goes through life with an intellectual consistency as steadfast as his moral consistency; widening, deepening, enlarging, modifying, adapting himself to new conditions, in perfect harmony with the main principles, upon which he started. His is the happiest lot in life; the primal blessing of the Bible is upon him; for he not only is not barren or unfruitful, but he brings forth fruit after his kind.

12. Keep clear of all intrigues: let your conduct be so clean and clear, that you would not care to let every letter, public or private, be read by your greatest enemy, and so act as to be perfectly indifferent to espionage.

13. But why have an enemy, public or private? You cannot prevent others from hating you, but you can prevent yourself from hating them; if you cannot agree, keep clear of each other. Dislike of another is oftener a result of our injuring him than of his injuring us. It is easier to forgive, or to forget, in the case of one, who has wronged us, than to forgive ourselves, or to forget the fact, when we have wronged our fellow. If we would probe deep enough into the cause of our dislike of one, whom we dislike, we should generally find ourselves and our ungenerous conduct, at the bottom of it.

14. Jealousy is an ignoble weakness: take a wider view of the whole

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system; there is room for all: all have separate gifts, and Chance very much guides the disposal of appointments, and opportunities of distinction. Some flower early, some late. Remember Metternich's remark, "Le moins decorée, le plus distinguée."

15. In dealing with your subordinates give them the fullest credit for what they do, and do not swallow up their merit: it is a drop to you: it may be the germ of future greatness to them: be regular, indulgent, free from spite, conciliatory, courteous: mark their characters: encourage the lethargic, restrain the over-zealous, support the timid: be it your constant pleasure to develop talent in others, remembering how much you owe to the illustrious men, who trained and fashioned you: never damp youthful energy, nor damn with faint praise.

16. Every letter deserves an answer; if possible, by next day's post. Every visit deserves a return-visit: the more inferior the social position, the more necessary the attention both of letter and visit.

17. Temperate opposition, and temperate criticism, are the greatest safeguards of a public officer: how much cause for regret you would have, if all your crude ideas had at once been carried out! But give intelligent reasons for dissent, couched in courteous language, so that if the matter be handed up to the highest authority, the motive of your judgment will be appreciated. Treat contemptuous attacks as contemptible with the scorn of scorn: *οὕτως γὰρ ὑβριζόντας ὑβρίζειν χρέων.*

18. It is the natural tendency of the lapse of time to engender abuses. Reform, therefore, is the *sine quâ non* of existence: those are the real anarchists, who resist timely reform.

19. Act with strict justice to holders of public Offices, and receivers of public money, who have outlived the necessity of their existence; but admit no pity or compassion: you have no right to be generous with public money.

20. Avoid Nepotism as you would the Devil: the names of some Governors, and their families, stink in India: those are the best public servants, who have won their positions off their own bats: it is strange, that many cannot see that to provide for relations out of public funds

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is about as dishonourable and dishonest an act, as a person placed in an important trust can commit.

21. Be very tolerant in everything: always hear the other side: turn over in your mind the reasons for or against any measure: remember that people's opinions are formed by their environment: questions open to you, are not open to them: a decision in one particular way may ruin them; you have nothing at stake. Again, some men have not the capacity, or opportunity, to form an opinion, or even to consider the merits: they get into a groove early in life, and have not sufficient force of character to get out of it: it is of no use discussing with them: a sieve will not hold water: they must go to their graves with their eyes unopened.

22. No Law, Ritual, or Institution, Secular, or Religious, can be deemed permanent:

"Tempora mutantur: nos et mutamur in illis."

They must either be modified to suit the ever-widening, ever-changing, feelings of mankind, or they will undergo the certain fate of being suppressed by violence, becoming obsolete by contempt, or avoided by subterfuge.

23. Never take remuneration for literary work: freely you have received your literary gifts, freely give. As a public servant, you are fully remunerated, and if you take pay for contributions to Periodicals, you are taking the bread out of some less fortunate writer's mouth. Choose your own subjects, and own mode of treatment. Never condescend to write to order, or to allow any modification by the Editor of your expressed sentiments.

24. Do not be selfish about any particular work: if the work is done, and done well, what matters by whom it was done. Do not work for reward, *but for the work itself.* In selfish Egotism some men in power, or a Secretary of an Association, keep a work for their own leisure, and die without doing it. In my "Christian Nirvana," the last of my Poems, 1896, are the following stanzas:

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" So never sell your talents;
" Work not for grovelling pelf.
" For work seek no reward:
" *The work rewards itself.*

" If others rise to fame,
" And you have honour none,
" What matters in a name,
" *If good work has been done!*"

25. Keep a Diary made up daily: if you live long enough, it will give two great pleasures: (1) by recalling the events of past years, and your sentiments, *as they were at that date*; (2) by preventing your being so careless and reckless in your life, as to have nothing at all to record, no kind act performed, no regret for something done wrong on the previous day: "Diem perdidi."

PROCLAMATIONS REFERRED TO AT PAGE 33.

Proclamation of John Lawrence, Commissioner and Superintendent Trans-Satlaj States. November 28, 1848.

"Since I have heard, that some evil-disposed persons, residents of "Jeswán, have leagued with the Rája of Jeswán and his son, and have "attacked the Police-Station and Revenue-Treasuries of Amb, I proclaim "to all, that, if a shot is fired from any village on any Government "Servant, or any person seized in arms, they will be heavily punished. "Whoever wishes to save his life, and property, had better come to my "camp at Amb; if no bloodshed has taken place, all other errors will be "overlooked, but those, who do not appear, will be punished."

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 278.

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Proclamation of Robert Cust, Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of the District of Hoshyarpúr, to all the principal Landholders in the District, sent by special messenger to each separately. November 28, 1848. Camp, Hájipúr.

"I expect, and am fully confident, that you are in your own villages, "and have kept clear of any rebellion. If any of your relations have "joined the rebels, write to them to come back, before blood is shed. "If they do so, their fault will be forgiven. Consider, that I have in "person visited every one of your villages, and I know the position of "every one of you. What is your injury I consider mine, and what is "gain to you I consider gain to myself. The rule of the British is in "favour of the Agriculturist. If your lands are heavily assessed, tell me "so, and I will relieve you; if you have any grievance, let me know it, "and I will try to remove it; if you have any plans, let me know them, "and I will give you my advice; *if you will excite rebellion, as I live,* "*I will severely punish you.* I have ruled this District three years by "the sole agency of the pen, and, if necessary, *I will rule it by the sword.* "God forbid that matters should come to that. This trouble affects your "families, and your prosperity. The Rájas of the country get up the "disturbances, but it is the landholders, whose lands are plundered. "Consider what I have said, talk over it with your relations, bring all "back from rebellion, when my camp arrives in your neighbourhood, "attend at once in person, and tell those, who have joined the rebellion, "to return to me, as children, who have committed a fault, return to "their father, and their faults will be forgiven them. Let this be known "in the whole valley of Jeswán, and be of good cheer. In two days "I shall be in the midst of you with a force, which you will be unable "to resist."

As the Landholders came in, I received them seated in front of my tent, with a pen and a sword in my hand, and asked them to make their selection: they flew to the pen with enthusiasm. Some of the rebel R[illegible]

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surrendered as our force approached. On December 2, 1848, before daylight, the troops made a double assault upon the Village of Amb, and the Palace of the Rája of Jeswán: we on the other side of the valley heard the rattling of the musketry, and suddenly two tall columns of fire sprang up from the two places of attack at the distance of five miles from each other, and the same from us: the lines of Virgil came to my recollection:

> "Tum vero omne mihi visum est considere in igne
> Ilium, et ex imo verti Neptunia Troja."
>
> *Æneid*, ii, 624.

This anecdote has now received an honour, as durable as brass, and whatever may be the fate of the Picture quoted below, the idea conveyed will live as long as the City of Lahór, for the Sculptor, who was entrusted with the task of designing a statue of Lord Lawrence, announces, that he derived his conception of a suitable attitude from the perusal of those lines, and has represented the great Proconsul with a sword and pen in either hand, and the words underneath "Peace and War." I was asked to give my authority for the anecdote, and on referring to my Journal, faithfully kept day by day since January, 1842, I find inscribed the Proclamation issued by John Lawrence as Commissioner, and the Circular Letter, which I, as his Deputy in charge of the Hoshyarpúr District, forwarded to each of my lieges; and I print them, as they stand, for they illustrate the manner of dealing, then at least in fashion, with a lately conquered people. It is not pretended, that the very words of my letter were suggested by the Commissioner, for such was not the case, but at that period I was so much imbued with the spirit of his example and his teaching, his principle of firmness of purpose, and decision of acting, accompanied by a never-failing love and tenderness to the people, while still in rebellion, that, if it were I, who penned the words, the conception and the sentiment were his. My works were his.

"The Great Proconsul": Pictures of Indian Life, p. 266.

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FINAL THOUGHTS ABOUT INDIA.

One word more before I leave the subject of India for ever, as a country to dwell in, and only think of it as an abstract subject. I find, to my bitter experience, that England, and its multifold interests, its multiform subjects of study, and its greater intellectual intensity, soon pushed my dear District-Life out of the lens of my Lantern. My life in India seemed like a dream, from which I had been awakened. I allude more particularly to that solitary life, which I enjoyed so much up to 1854, for when after the Mutinies I returned to India, and was installed in high Provincial appointments, I dwelt in European Stations, associating with my countrymen; and some of my old Native friends, who came *to look at me*, and could not get access to me, reported in their villages, that the Sahib was changed, and was not the same Sahib as in former years. Circumstances had changed my habits of life, but not my tastes and affections.

Fifty-three years have passed since 1846, when I commenced that life among the people, and I seem to look back with a feeling of pity on the young recluse of the age of 25–34, who in two different parts of India for more than three years in each lived alone in his two Districts of Hoshyarpúr of the Panjáb and Banda of the North-West Provinces: it may be said of me, as Dante Alighieri said of himself, finishing my quotation given at page 87:

"Quando era in parte altr' uomo di quel che sono."

What were my inner life and inner thoughts then? My Journal tells coldly what was done each day: all the public work, that was transacted, was recorded in the Urdu language, and the Arabic Written Character, and the file of papers with my opinions, orders, and judgments, went off to the District Record-Room, and perished during the Mutinies of 1857. The papers written and printed for different periodicals are confined to their particular subject. The letters to Parents and Relations in England, bound in large volumes, give little information as to what thoughts occupied the writer's mind. That the life led by him was pure and holy

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may be asserted without doubt of the pupil of James Thomason and John Lawrence, and the friend of Donald Macleod, and Herbert Edwardes: besides, the evil days had passed away, and cases of gross immorality were very exceptional during my time.

But the subject of this Life-Memoir had left, unconsciously, evidence of the direction, in which his secret thoughts habitually turned, in his Poems, which never ceased to come into existence. Solitude is perhaps the parent of song, and a selection of six has been made out of a very much larger number, which have been collected and printed. The "Day in India" appears to me at this distance of time from the date of writing it to be a composition, which it was scarcely possible for anyone not familiar with that particular form of life to have written, and I feel glad that I wrote it, and that it survived the wreck of the Mutinies of 1857, when all my property at Banda was destroyed.

I.

THOUGHTS BY THE WAY.

HIGH blows the wind to-day,
Roaring loud:
Driving through the heavenly way
Fleecy cloud:
Careful bind your winter-vest
Closely round the heaving breast!
How many have no place of rest
In this crowd!

How many a friend of mine
Is this day
Battling with the stormy brine,
And the spray!
Let me in my morning-prayer
Think of them without despair,
For our God is always there,
Where we stray.

How many a wretch does keep
Couch of woe,
Whose eyes one blessèd hour of sleep
Never know!
Give me, then, a grateful heart,
Tears ready from my eyes to start,
And hands unfolded to impart,
As I go.

Leaves are falling from the trees;
So fall we:
Borne hither thither by the breeze;
So friends flee.
Nature o'er the earth will fling
New glories of the opening Spring;
But lost friends no day will bring
Back to me.

Written on my elephant during my morning-march. Banda, N. India: March, 1853.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places" (1839–1887), First Series.

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II.

FRAGMENT DURING MY EVENING WALK.

STOP, villager, and gaze upon the glowing scene
Of unasked blessings and of wealth untold;
Lowlands with promise of the Springtime green,
And uplands burnished with the Autumn gold.

Who set the fountains of yon river free?
Who fixed the basement of yon noble hill?
Who hung the luscious fruit on yonder tree,
The pleasure and the wants of man to fill?

Hast thou no thanks to God, who gave you all?
No sins for which in sorrow to atone?
Canst thou thus basely to your idol fall,
And mutter senseless prayer to senseless stone?

Banda, N. India: 1854.

III.

THE BIRDS FLYING HOME AT EVENTIDE.

THOUGHTS, thoughts, unchained ye fly,
Like the wingèd trains on high,
We know not whither,
Journeying lightly through the skies,
And, as some new scenes arise,
Hastening thither.

Ye leave no traces as ye go;
No followers your path can show,
Save one light feather,
Which, falling from your airy track,
In after days to bring you back,
Fondly I gather.

O happy thoughts, whence do ye spring?
Lost happiness, lost peace, ye bring
With vain endeavour.
I know too well, as bright ye glance
From spot to spot in wakening trance:
'T is lost for ever!

Why should I build in sunny air
Castles of hope, surpassing fair,
My past forgetting?
Dark dreary clouds are gathering round;
The castled towers fall to the ground;
My sun is setting.

Lost friendships, useless idle hours,
Perverted talents, wasted powers,
Canst thou bring back?
Canst bid the grave restore its dead?
Canst bid the blissful hour long fled
Turn on its track?

One thing you can, ye birds of air!
Oh! thither let my thoughts repair,
Heavenward soaring!
On no false pleasing future dream;
Contented with the present seem,
The past deploring.

In my garden. Banda, N. India: September, 1853.

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IV.

THE GRAVE OF A BABY IN AN INDIAN JUNGLE.

LEAD to yon sheltered nook,
And spread my carpet there,
And, while I rest alone,
My evening-meal prepare.

Let Fancy paint, whose grave
Beneath yon turflet swells
Midst violets entombed,
And twining daffodils.

Oh! many a day has passed
Since one bright Summer-morn
Here in this lonely waste
A beauteous babe was born.

In novelty of love
The girlish mother smiled,
And to her little breast
Pressed this her first-born child.

Babe, gaily didst thou smile
On this thy day of birth,
Gazing so thoughtfully
On the fair things of earth!

High o'er thy tiny head
O'erarched the tamarind's bough,
And blithely sang the birds,
As they are singing now!

Many an insect wild
Buzzed o'er thee that long day;
But with the butterfly at eve
Thy spirit passed away!

Thy father dug that grave,
And placed that funeral-stone,
Midst sighs, and tears, and prayers,
And left thee there alone!

The people of the grove
Nightly thy requiem sing;
The little redbreasts here
Their annual offerings bring!

Where is that mother now?
Far o'er the blue blue sea:
Many another babe
Has climbed upon her knee!

Her richly auburn hair
Has long since turned to snow:
Many a joy and sorrow
Her chastened spirits know!

But often, oh! how oft,
Her thought flies back to thee,
Back to this sheltered nook
Beneath the tamarind-tree!

The spot, where once she heard
Her first-born infant's cry,
And felt her bosom swell
With young maternity!

Banda, N. India: April, 1854.

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V.

A DAY IN INDIA.

AT sunrise to the Courts my steps repair,
And on my shoulders rest a load of care;
Unnumbered suitors for my aid appeal,
And my charged brains with varied interests reel:
Still be it mine with philanthropic art,
And gentle words, to soothe the wounded heart;
Though mine no magic wand, I've still the will
To grant each wish and cure each mortal ill,
By gentle reason win the erring mind,
And scatter blessings on poor humankind.
Still on my steps the hopeless plaintiffs speed,
And shameless misery stops my homeward steed,
Into my hand some wretched scrawl is thrust,
An aged form before me licks the dust.
Poor aged form! how many a time have I
Remarked those weary limbs, that anxious eye!
Why did stern nature place within thy breast
A thirst litigious, which knows no rest?
For one small rood of land thy doubtful right,
Has cost thee weary days and many a hungry night.

To me my well-thatched roof now grants repose:
From the cool bath new health reviving flows;
One hour of balmy sleep restores my powers;
Then gently glide the sands of peaceful hours.
To my old studies then again I turn;
On Indian soil the classic altars burn.
Thus flies the day, by others found so long:
Oh! could some magic art these days prolong!
But when the sun's meridian heat is past,
And a long shadow on the wall is cast,
I hasten to my glittering gay parterre,
And spread my carpet in the open air.
Short is the magic spell; with silver sheen
The moon lights up a strangely beauteous scene:
Lamps glance upon the hill, and from the town
Come sounds by distance sweetly softened down.

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Down the lone walks with thoughtful steps I tread,
Musing on friends far off, and days long fled,
Then upward turns the speechless, grateful eye
For many a blessing, many a joy gone by;
And this one thought contents my struggling breast:
"Whatever is ordained by God is best."
Or perhaps some wretched suppliant draws near
With weary tale to woo my secret ear:
With clasped hands his eager woes disclose
Some village tyranny, some rural woes.

But vain my labours, all my day-dreams vain,
To try the intellect, or load the brain,
To cull romantically in idle hour
Of every clime, and every tongue, the flower;
Ope treasures of the past with daring hand,
Or raise the veil of future fairyland.
For, let the wise deride, the proud decry,
'T is not for fortune, not for fame, we sigh.
Each in his inner soul, his inmost heart,
Has secret hopes, from which he dare not part,
Hopes that crowd round me mingled with despair,
Of *her*, who might have deigned this home to share.
For shame! *thou* wast not born for hopes like these,
For social pleasures or domestic ease;
Not *thine*, sweet helpmate by thy side to see,
Nor smiling children climbing on thy knee.
To *thee* hard Fortune has not shown the way
To paint like Raphael, or to write like Gray,
To sweep the skies in search of hidden stars,
Or fall heroic on the plains of Mars.
Thine, Roman, is a harder duty known,
To leave thy country and to stand alone:
Stand as a beacon in a stranger's land,
Curb conquered nations with unflinching hand!

When, after showers, by pitying East winds shed,
Exhausted Nature rears her drooping head,
'Neath groves of palms, by wild romantic streams,
In Indian pomp my canvas palace gleams.

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On high Heaven's glorious arch scarce bounds the view,
And tints the sky with pure celestial blue:
In garlands green around my tent appear
Autumnal trophies of the closing year.
On every bough the mina and the dove
Pour forth a tale of tuneful, endless, love.
From tree to tree in gay barbaric pride
The giant-creeper proudly seems to stride.
Above, below, the busy insect hums,
And all the Orient to my vision comes.
See, where the many-columned Pípal stands,
A substitute for temples made by hands;
No fretted roof keeps back the prayer from Heaven,
A wider space for orisons is given;
And scarce to earth the worshippers belong,
When all God's creatures join in choral song.
Or else the wings of early morn I take,
And rouse the partridge from the forest-brake,
Dash from my horse's hoofs the sparkling dew,
Or track the startled deer with wild halloo.

But if Rebellion in this land, which Heaven
For its own purpose wise to us has given,
Uprears its head, the pen is laid aside,
And to the fight in stern array I ride,
With steady purpose, and unflinching will,
Crush the offence, but spare the offender still,
And bid the rustics after war's alarms
Turn to their unscathed homes and their uninjured farms.

Rest thee awhile, and dwell on scenes like these,
If aught of Nature's work thy soul can please;
Far, far from cities, and those thoughts, which tear
And shake mankind with never-ceasing care.
How often, when, my time of Exile done,
I hasten backwards to the setting sun,
With fond regret will jaded thoughts repair
To the lone tent beneath the balmy air,
To happy hours on India's sandy plain,
And all the freedom of my rural reign!

Banda, N. India: August, 1854.

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VI.

MY GARDEN.

ASK me not why I fly
From worldly company,
The noise and toil of cities, and the hum,
In my own sweet parterre,
To drink the evening-air,
And let my thoughts unfettered go and come.

Alone, yet not alone:
No king upon his throne
Can near him have so bright a Court as mine:
No envy here is shown,
And flattery unknown,
And all the guests in heavenly vestures shine.

With grave and stately grace
She takes the foremost place,
The blue-eyed Goddess, who in Athens dwells:
She bids me proudly scorn
Cares from low passion born,
With which the aching bosom vainly, madly, swells.

Come, then, Astronomy,
And grant thy power to me
To sweep the heavens with distance-piercing ray:
See world on world appear
Beyond cærulean sphere,
And distant stars in everlasting day.

Let History unfold
The tale divinely told
Of Godlike mortals, who in days by-gone
Played out their short career
From cradle to the bier,
Then passed away, each when his task was done.

Oh come, my Muse so sweet,
And by me take my seat,
Touch thy loud harp in pensive symphony;
Deftly thy music blends
With thoughts of absent friends,
And the dear home beyond the sounding sea!

Banda, N. India: August, 1854.

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PART III.

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Chapter V.

AFTER INDIA, 1868–1898.

Introductory Remarks.

It seems like entering into a new world. A great congeries of thoughts, a heavy load of anxieties, are placed aside for ever. Passages by steamers, dates of departure and arrival, official appointments, seasons of the year, parting from children, all the paraphernalia and impedimenta of an Indian Exile, all such things are wiped off Life's slate, and a new category of domestic cares are introduced: reduced income, choice of residence, worry of a family. The horror surrounding a Death in India is gone for ever: it may come at home very soon, but it will come quietly, and no telegraphic communications will disturb a party of young children at their tea, that "Father is dead." He had never been much alive to them. The life of one of the Lieutenant-Governors was lately written by his son, who had never seen, or known, his Father. I have escaped that contingency.

But if it does *not* come, what then? Is the old Anglo-Indian to sit down in a corner, and smoke his cigar, read a frivolous book, the so-called light reading of the idler, and do nothing? I realized this when writhing under my first bereavement, and in a Poem called "A Life's Trial" wrote as follows, putting the words into the mouth of a wise friend, who came to rouse with Christian advice the crushed widower, and call him into the service of his Master and his fellow-creatures.

> "And now of all humanity in scorn
> You would cast off the world, and all forlorn
> In some lone corner, far from human eye,
> Lay yourself sadly, weakly, down to die,

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Just like a child, who some pet toy has broke,
And fancies life has perished in that stroke.
Perhaps death will not come, but come there will
A day of strictest retribution still
For vain repinings, and for idle hours,
For wasted talents, and neglected powers.
Life is God's boon: what did that man betide,
Who in a napkin did his talents hide,
Because he chose from duty's path to swerve,
And say he had a stern, harsh, Lord to serve?
If now she saw you, whom she held so dear,
Shedding the ceaseless, unavailing tear,
A helpless wanderer on life's busy track,
And scenes recalling, which can ne'er come back;
Flinging away the golden, blessed, hours,
Wasting in grief the slow-maturing powers,
Fighting against God's will: ay, do not start!
He fights with God, who will not play the part,
Humbly and patiently which God assigns,
And meekly to Him all he loves resigns:
Would not that faithful, loving bosom swell
With—grief ne'er comes, where she is gone to dwell."

I have realized the wisdom of my kind friend, who uttered the sentiments, which I have recorded in verse, and I stretch out my hands across his grave and thank him. Another friend at Calcutta, when we parted, said: "Trust me, 'Life is a life of compensations'; if you do not get one thing, you will get another as good or better." And I have found, that a serene old age, unbroken physical and intellectual strength, a deeper comprehension of spiritual things, a wider view of the dealings of the Creator with His poor creatures, and of their duty to Him, have made the last thirty-one years of life a compensation indeed for the miserable ruin of my middle life. I have seen so many of my contemporaries not live to get home, or fall by the wayside, when they got home. I have

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II (1867), pp. 150, 151.

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seen Lieutenant-Governors, my juniors, return home, to whom Tacitus' stinging remark applies:

"Digni imperio, si non imperassent."

When we look through Biographical Dictionaries, or books on the "Men of the Time," we do not find any allusion to gentlemen, who came home with handles to their names after drawing the salary of a Provincial Governor: they fell back into the ranks, and left no footsteps in the sands of time; their names do not sound stirring; while some, who gave their later years to English studies and occupations have been more fortunate. I have a list on my table of my contemporaries and juniors, who completed their course in India with joy and honour, and sank in the grave in the Fifties:

"Non sine labore beata videtur Senectus."

I was permitted to fall back into English life, as if India had never existed, and pick up the skein, which had dropped from my hand, when in 1842 I left England for India. The great Prose and Poetic Oriental authors, whom I had learned to love at Haileybury College, and the great Greek and Latin Masters, who had been my delight at Eton College, still had power to charm, and also the well-known names of Goethe and Burger, Corneille and Béranger, Longfellow and Tennyson, Pope, Byron, Moore, Cowper, Thackeray, Haines Bailey, Houghton, and others, who had been the joy of my Indian solitude, became the companions of my old age amidst the severe study of the Languages and Religious Conceptions of the Human Race, and the great task of helping to carry the Gospel to the non-Christian population.

It may be justly remarked, that however interesting might be the account of a career in India, there could be little to interest in the life of a confessedly broken-down failure in his own country. Thirty years have passed over me, and my chief object in compiling this Memoir has been the desire to point out to others, how they can try to make the years that remain to them, after the completion of their Indian career, useful to

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others, and pleasant to themselves. Some few have obtained seats in Parliament, either by succeeding to hereditary Peerages, or by election to the House of Commons. Some few have obtained employment as Directors of Banks or Commercial Companies. In one or two cases Holy Orders have been asked for and obtained. Municipal and local and benevolent duties have attracted others. Many have disappeared among the Great Unknown in the Rural Districts and Country Towns, eating, drinking, sleeping, shooting birds, catching fish, or hunting foxes, and crept into their graves, leaving no trace of them behind.

In the year 1895 I published the following in the pages of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review.* I reprint it, as it gives my argument briefly, which I shall expand in the next Chapter.

"About thirty-five years ago out in camp in the Panjáb, I was describing to the late Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, the kind of life, which some retired old Indians led in England between meals at their Club, and their lodgings, a call on their tailors, a snooze, and a visit to a friend. It seemed to me, who had seen it while on furlough, that to die in India was better. Sir Robert, just about to leave India, seemed to agree, and remarked, that *he* too should not know how to get through the day, if there were no Chuprassey to bring his box of papers from the Secretariat for disposal. An old Military Bachelor, who was present, remarked, that when he got home, he should marry, and keep a cow. Another on his retirement proposed to patent a machine for blacking shoes with a rotatory brush, and did so.

"Many talk about great projects, of what they will do when they get back to England, or babble about green fields, and end in filling a space in an Indian Cemetery. An old friend, *per contra*, took his pension and left India in 1844, after serving twenty-five years: we called him 'an old fellow' even then, but he lived for fifty years beyond, and died in 1894, having drawn a Pension amounting to £50,000. This instance, were it typical, would speak volumes for the climate of India, but would make one despair for the Finances of that country, for fifty such retired Civilians, or Soldiers, would alone cost two and a half Millions Sterling.

"Is there a 'tertium quid'? If Life be spared, is its residue to be given to hunting, fishing, card-playing, loafing about town? Has the retired Anglo-Indian official no *duty*? It seems to me that, grateful for having got home with a competence, when so many have remained behind, he ought in his own way to give England the benefit of his Indian experience, and to do all the good he could before his course be run, whether he be appreciated or not.

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"The age of such a man is generally about fifty: he has been accustomed from his youth to public affairs, military, civil, or commercial: he has had to make up his mind, and even to record a practical opinion, in a given space of time, and this is just what his contemporary at the public school, the Parson, the Squire, the Gentleman at large, cannot do: anything so hopeless as a Committee, made up of such material, can scarcely be imagined: they argue incoherently, and at great length, when down comes the Anglo-Indian, who has learned to economize time: he may be right, or wrong, but he brings matters to an issue, and a decision is recorded.

"The Anglo-Indian has, no doubt, great disadvantages, which it takes years to get over. He has lost touch with England and her literature: whatever subject, to which he intends to devote himself, he has much to read in order to come up to the level of those at home: if he does not recognize this fact, he will always remain a quarter of a century, the length of his Indian service, behind the age. His topographical knowledge of Great Britain and Ireland is still more likely to be defective: he may tell you all about Pesháwar, Rajputána, Tinnevelly, or Bombay, as the case may be, but of the manufactures of Lancashire, of the Cathedrals of Great Britain, of the Lakes and Islands of Scotland, of the beauty and the sorrows of Ireland, he knows little or nothing. Let him, therefore, during his first two years traverse these Islands from Land's End to John o' Groat's House, as a Student, acquaint himself with the industries of his own country, attend sittings of the Houses of Parliament, visit the great Seaports, the great American Steamers, the Military Cantonments, the Courts of Justice, the Universities, the Museums, the Galleries, the places of Worship, and thus cease to be a foreigner in his own country: the daily study of the *Times* will make a new creature of him.

"Then comes the time for annual foreign tours: in each year at least eight weeks should be devoted to a careful visit to a different part of Europe, North Africa, or Eastern Asia in its entirety: the thoughtful reading of competent authorities thereon should precede, a notebook should accompany, and a Journal should crown each Annual tour. One year will see our friend at the North Cape, the next at the first Cataract in Egypt, a third at Morocco; the following year in Greece, on the Caucasus, and all over Russia; one Season may be devoted to Italy, or Spain, or Palestine, or a run to the Caspian Sea. A good temper, a civil tongue, a pleasant smile, a working knowledge of the great Vernaculars of Europe, and of Arabic, will always secure to him a welcome and information, and leave a friend in every place which he traverses. He will thus shake off all Chauvinism: to him there will be neither Jew nor Gentile: he will find, that a Turk is not a bad companion, a Romish Priest an accomplished fellow-traveller, an Arab a good fellow, and a Russian one of the most obliging of men. Life and reality will be given to his books of Travel: Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Carthage, the Pyramids, Mt. Caucasus, Kief, Moscow, the fiords of Norway, will ever rise up before him in grateful memories.

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"INDIA, the land of his adoption, will and should, however, occupy the first place in his thoughts: his visits to Mahometan countries, and inspection of European systems of administrations, the tyranny of the Police, the venality of officials, the systems of universal conscription, the deportations to Siberia, the prohibition of public meetings, of public worship, or of an outspoken Press, the demand for passports, will favourably recall British India, with its freedom of the Press, of the right of assembly, of agriculture and commerce, of locomotion, its absence of forcible conscription, its liberty of all Religions, and the fact, that there is not a single political prisoner out of a population of 285 millions.

"If anyone attempts to injure the people of India, whether under the pressure of the Lancashire Millowners, the anti-opium fanatics, the Committee of Female Faddists, the unsympathizing India-Office, or the ill-judging Christian Missionaries, the Anglo-Indian will be ready to stand up for the rights of the dusky subjects of Her Majesty, and for the maintenance of Her Majesty's Proclamation, on the Platform, in the Press, and on deputations to the Authorities. The Anglo-Indian does not, like an ordinary Englishman, look at India through the small end of a telescope; to him many of her people are known to be good and accomplished men; nor, like the travelling M.P., is he likely to be misled by the English-speaking native, whose acquaintance he makes on a Railway-Platform, with ridiculous stories, which on his return home he deals out to English audiences with all the air of a Prophet just come down from the Mountain.

"To many Anglo-Indians one of the first duties will be to assist the MISSIONS, sent out by the different Nations of Europe to try and win the people of India from Polytheism; with this comes the desire to disseminate copies of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in different languages, and other useful religious and educational Vernacular Literature. This benevolent enterprise, though often prejudiced by the sensationalism of some of its supporters, gains when influenced by a steady middle-aged Anglo-Indian, who knows the people, their languages, and aspirations. Another object of Anglo-Indian interest is 'The Asiatic Strangers' Home,' where natives of Asia, turned adrift from ships at the end of their voyage, are housed, and saved from being plundered and otherwise ruined.

"SCIENCE comes next: the study of the RELIGIONS of the non-Christian world has a special attraction for the Anglo-Indian; the publication by the India-Office of the magnificent Series of 'The Sacred Books of the East' has been even to him a revelation. The subject has to be approached in a calm and sympathetic spirit, and to an Anglo-Indian, who has seen so many temples, Brahmins, Bathing-Ghats, Pilgrims, Fakirs, and Processions of Idolatrous worship, it is of intense interest to find out the origin of these remarkable sights. In Buddhism and Confucianism, we arrive at a high conception of moral excellence, although atheistic systems. They have existed more

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than 2,500 years, and still occupy a large proportion of the population of the world. In Mahometanism we come on the latest of Human Conceptions, a pure Monotheism.

"ARCHÆOLOGY follows, and is, indeed, suggested by the former study; in India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, revelations of Monuments, tombs, temples, obelisks, pyramids, Inscriptions, and Papyri, pass the wildest dreams of inquirers at the beginning of this Century. The knowledge of these things, when they were comparatively young (say 2,000 years ago), escaped the ken of the Greeks and Romans; great as were their acquirements, they had not arrived at that degree of critical acumen, which is the feature of the Scientist of modern times. The subject of Indian Archæology alone would furnish a sufficient study for the evening of a long and busy official life, slightly embittered by the regret, that attention was not paid to them years ago, when eyes could actually have seen what they now only read in description of others.

"The mention of Inscriptions, Stelæ, Papyri, burnt graven bricks, and Manuscripts on vellum or the Talipot-Palm, brings us to that great factor of Human existence: Language, as forming the link of communication of man with man. Religion is the other factor, by which Man thinks, that he obtains access to God, illustrating the threefold feature of Mortal environment: 'SELF—the WORLD—GOD.'

"The excavated records of dead Religions, like the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Hittite, Græco-Roman, and others, tell us what Religious Conceptions have lived their little life, and been the consolation of Millions, who have long ago passed away. The Manuscripts, well thumbed and well read, in the hands of the Nineteenth Century Parsi, Brahmin, Buddhist, Jain, Confucian, Taouist, Shintoist, Hebrew, Christian, and Mahometan, tell us another story, how tenacious man is of what he has been taught to believe as Divine Truth, for the followers of each are ready to suffer torture, or die, rather than give it up.

"Better also than field sports, loafing at the Club, or lolling in entire idleness at home, are THE LEARNED SOCIETIES, the Geographical, the Asiatic, the Geological, the Historical, the Antiquarian, the Anthropological, the Philological, the Hellenic, and Egyptian, Exploration Societies, and many others. At their meetings many valuable acquaintances are made and new lines of inquiry are suggested: but there is something more. Every third or fourth year there assemble in one or other of the Capitals of Europe International Congresses for the discussion of Scientific subjects: here the most illustrious representatives in each great country of Science meet, and discussions take place, the results of which are reported: stock is thus periodically taken of the progress of Knowledge: the animosities, produced by long literary strifes on some particularly abstruse matter, are softened down by personal contact, and sweet friendships are formed, and a general advance is made along the whole line of Human Discovery, Analysis, Inquiry, and Speculation.

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'Sic intestinis crescit res Palladis armis,
Europæque recens undique floret honos.
Sic redit a nobis Aurora, diemque reducit,
Surgit et e fuscâ lux Oriente nova.
Ossa sepultorum, veterum vestigia Regum,
Vox vocat e tumulo: lux patefacta micat.
Omnia nota patent: nam quid non vincere possit
Subtile ingenium, et nocte dieque labor?'

R. N. C.

"Nor should the contemporary POLITICS of the country be passed over: the returned Anglo-Indian may not be an English party-man; he may have outgrown the effete notions which he heard in his youth, but he will find, that the thoughts of men have grown wider with the progress of the Sun, and he will insensibly be drawn into one side of the combatants in the great arena. We can scarcely imagine anyone so stupid, or so used up, that he will not form some opinion on the leading questions of Imperial, or National, or local, interest, the murmur of which he will hear around him. Some may even be willing to express that opinion in public speeches, when opportunity offers. Anglo-Indians, however, are not eloquent as a rule. Their gifts, and training, lead more to the desk than the platform. Some of our greatest Indian administrators have been utterly deficient in the power of making a speech, or arguing a thesis. Post-prandial eloquence, or a verbose pseudo-classical oratory, has generally been the feature of the few Anglo-Indians, who make speeches in India. But the appetite may come in eating, the atmosphere of England may develop new and unsuspected powers. In some things the Anglo-Indian does not fail; he is not afraid to look an audience in the face, and he knows his subject; his opinions are made up, and he will deliver them, whether the audience likes it or not: his object is not personal profit, if his party get into power: he is not paid by wirepullers to enforce certain views, whether he entertains them or not: so at least he will be sincere.

"In *written* contributions to LITERATURE Anglo-Indians are strong: a great part of the duty of a Civilian is to make Reports on every imaginable subject, to rebuke those, who are below him officially, and justify himself to those, who are above him: he thus becomes ready with his pen. Many Indian periodicals, Weekly, Monthly, or Quarterly, are thus supplied and well supplied: the only difficulty is want of leisure; but on his return to England the burden of Office falls from his shoulders, and he

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Second Series, p. 214.

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finds that leisure long so dearly wished for: among his Memoranda is often a list of subjects with the sad note: 'I should like to write about this, if only I had the leisure.' Many of his friends never found that leisure, for instead of their lucubrations going to the Press their bodies were carried off to the Station-Cemetery: let us hope that there has been a survival of the fittest, and that those, who have survived, will look up their Memoranda, and contribute to some Scientific, Religious, or Literary, Periodical; they have a reserve of original matter, an entirely independent environment, and a freedom from some of the British idols of the Pulpit, the Market-place, and the Den, to draw upon. As a rule, we should recommend them to do their work without compensation; 'freely they have received, freely give': this will enable them to write what they like, not what a task-imposing Editor shall enjoin. The habit of contributing to Periodicals may lead to the composing and publishing of a volume, large or small, on some specific subject: here, again, it is recommended not to solicit the favour of a Publisher, or allow him to suggest alterations, or make conditions, but to send the literary infant forth at the charges of its Parent.

"I cannot forget, that in several pitched battles in the days of Lords Hardinge and Gough, 1845–46, my life was spared, when many were killed around me: I also escaped the knife of the assassin, to which my superior officer, Major Mackeson, and my assistant, Captain Adams, fell victims: I rose in the service, through Mutinies, Pestilences, and other public calamities, to the vacancies caused by the premature deaths due to violence, or disease, of many of my contemporaries, and friends. I, therefore, and others, who have escaped the perils of India, have a debt to pay to those, who are sick and suffering in our own country. In the organization of Charity, we carry with us habits of business and a knowledge of accounts, in which the good English 'stay-at-home' is often deficient. Nor are Anglo-Indians easily gulled, for their lives have been spent in one continual struggle with natives of India, trying to outwit them.

"Municipal and benevolent duties have to be discharged and give pleasure. I was much struck by the following remarks of the Tutor of an Oxford College, which I visited on my return from India: 'I could not bear up under the strain of examining incapable or unwilling men, if I did not give Saturday afternoons, and the whole of Sunday, to the service of the poor in their homes, in the hospital, and in the Sunday School, or evening classes: this brings me back to the realities of human life, Sin, Sorrow, Suffering. The work of the week, however, is a hopeless struggle with idleness and stupidity, and is inspired by, or only leads to, MAYA, Illusion.'

"Indeed, many Anglo-Indians find congenial employment in Parochial work, or on the Committees of the great Hospitals, in Institutions for the Blind, the Cripple, the Waif and Stray, the lost ones in the streets of London. Beyond these, and subject to election, are the County-Councils, the School-Board, the Parochial Vestry for local

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Government, the Board of Guardians for the relief of the Poor: all these bring men face to face with previously unknown contingencies of London-life, rouse sympathies, and develop untried capabilities. The Anglo-Indian has got such a habit of daily work, that he cannot shake himself free of it. I know a great many parishes, in which the services, sense of duty, courtesy, and abilities, of Anglo-Indians, returned exiles, women as well as men, are exceedingly valued.

"Finally, there is the office of Justice of the Peace: the necessary qualification is the occupation of a house at a certain rental. The duties are varied: some J.P.'s are on the Visiting Committees of the County Prisons, others dispose of the Lunacy-cases, all are able to attend the Petty Sessions of their district, the Quarter-Sessions of their County; they are employed in enforcing the collections of the Parochial Rates, issuing and transferring licenses for the sale of liquors: many incidental duties are attached to the office. They are appointed for life by the Lord Lieutenant of their respective Counties: outside the Metropolitan area they exercise purely Judicial functions; within that area their duties are purely administrative, as there are salaried officials to discharge the heavy Judicial duties in the Metropolis.

"May I now venture to refer to myself as an instance of how an Anglo-Indian can usefully and pleasantly fill his time in England, twenty-five years after the conclusion of his Indian Service? I made my quarterly inspection of Wormwood Scrubs Prison to-day before lunch as Justice of the Peace, and, after lunch, I formed part of the Visiting Committee of the Chelsea Parish Infirmary. Yesterday I spent several hours in the really painful duty of enforcing the collection of the Parochial Rates: the lavish extravagance of the County Council and the School Board will make this operation still more difficult every year, till at last it becomes intolerable. To-morrow my first duty will be to go down to the Workhouse observation-wards to dispose of lunatic cases. The Prison population of Great Britain is annually dwindling: one-third of the prisons have been closed: the Lunatic population is increasing by leaps and bounds, and asylums are built, and filled, and more are called for: the number of female lunatics is distressingly large. Next week, on one day I shall be at a Meeting of the Guardians of the Poor, on another day at a meeting of the Editorial Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society to superintend the work of the Translation of that Book in a score or more of neo-Vernacular languages. Another day is marked down for the granting of licenses for the sale of liquors, and hearing of objections to particular licenses. In other weeks there are Meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Geographical and Asiatic Societies, interspersed with other totally different duties. I have, at the age of 77, eighteen Committees, nine of which I call Committees of 'Saints,' and nine Committees of 'Sinners'; they are differentiated by their commencing, or not commencing, with a form of prayer. The object should be to enforce Christian principles in the work of Committees of Sinners, and to carry habits of business and control of money

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disbursements among the Saints. Another great distinction is, that in all Committees of Saints the co-operation of Women as Members or Councillors is rigorously forbidden, while in Committees of Sinners, such as Boards of Guardians and of Hospitals, their presence is welcomed: this arises from the stupidity of the rural Clergy, who, being 'sat upon' by their Wives, Sisters, and Daughters in their Parishes, sternly ostracize women from their Clubs and Committees. In secular Committees, the Secretary knows his position, and is silent: in Religious Committees the Secretary assumes a most unjustifiable power, as a kind of Director."

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Chapter VI.

PERIOD V.

AFTER INDIA, 1868–1897. FIRST DECADE, 1868–1877.

(1) Home in England.
(2) Resignation of the Indian Civil Service.
(3) Draft of Code of Revenue-Law for Northern India.
(4) Offer of employment in the India-Office declined.
(5) Family cares and troubles.
(6) Annual Tours in England, Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent.
(7) Commencement of attendance at Meetings of Societies and Committees.
(8) Course of reading to bring up the arrears of knowledge of a quarter of a century.
(9) International Oriental Congresses at London and St. Petersburg.
(10) Remarks on Linguistic Studies and Language generally. Serious study commenced.

IT was only, when my burden was laid down, and the fatigue of the ship-life was slept out, and a period of quiet followed constant excitement, that the gravity of the step, which I had half-taken, was brought home to me. As I saw myself then, I had but one talent, which could profit my fellow-creatures or satisfy myself, and that was the Art of Ruling inferior races, gently but firmly, strongly but lovingly. To those in

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authority above me I had always been acceptable, or perhaps they put up with my waywardness, and outspokenness, because they knew, that they could trust me, and that I was thorough and capable. With those under my orders I was always on good terms, and the friendship of many now grown old has followed me. Financially it did not much signify to me, for the death of my Mother and of my Mother-in-Law had added to my resources, and, when I took stock, I felt that I had sufficient. Of my six children one had died in 1865, a second, born in 1867, died in 1868, and a third died in 1871. I was determined to keep clear of my relations, and connections, and not to solicit, or receive, pity, and condolence, a second time: the iron had entered into my soul. I had given up the World, and I asked the World to give up me, and leave me alone. I used to watch my children in their happiness, as the window of my room in the village-inn commanded the front door of their cottage, and sometimes I used to go over and spend the evening in their midst. Thus the time passed from January 17, 1868, to April 8, on which day I moved into my new home at Eastbourne, Eskbank Lodge. I tried to help my children in their studies, and I took my eldest boy to his first school. On October 19 I moved to a London-home at 27, Gloucester Street, Pimlico, and on November 11 I was married to my third wife, Elizabeth Mathews: thirty-one years have passed over this union, and I deem myself fortunate in having taken this step.

India for some time hung upon the horizon. I had letters from Calcutta, begging me to return, and every kind of offer was made and plan suggested. I had only nine months to serve to secure my Pension of £1,000 per annum: surely I could do so much, and my Master, Sir John Lawrence, wanted me. But three events took place just then: In my two Provinces of the Panjáb and the North-West, I had two dear Colleagues, Arthur Roberts and Cuthbert Thornhill, whose unruffled domestic happiness I used to envy: they both died in that year: they had served their time, which secured their pensions, were happy in the company of the wives of their youth and their children, *and both died* in India. Another College friend, Bellasis, had one month to serve to secure his

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pension: he went out to do so, and died within the month at Bombay: so it appeared to me that, after all, Life, Health, and an English home with my children was my "summum et solum bonum." The possibility of a solitary life in India had been placed aside in 1867: the idea of taking out another young wife with the chance of a third Indian grave was not to be thought of. The Hand of Providence seemed to be guiding me, and leading me on, and after the lapse of years I feel, that there was a Hand leading me.

Yet in those days of darkness I went through a bitter struggle before I could consent to give up employment, honour, and wealth: to wrap my apparently only talent in a napkin, and at the age of 47 condemn myself, as it then seemed, to a life of idleness, for the chance of any other career seemed closed against me. I left it to the Lord to decide: He knew all my weaknesses: all that I desired, and prayed for, was one or two years of Peace and Quiet, and Obscurity, and then let Him take me away, if it seemed good to Him. The strong man, who had ruled vast populations in his youth, was crushed and humbled in middle life: let him lie peaceably for a short time, and have the privilege of a home, which he could call his own for his wife and children, and then die in an English bed. I had fallen very low; I felt like a soldier, who had deserted his Regiment, and his Leader.

I was informed at the India Office, that, if I resigned the Service, I should get a Sick Pension for myself of £450, and Pensions for wife and children under the usual Rules: and thus the year 1868 ended.

In 1869 I appeared before the Medical Committee, and after examination received my certificate and resigned: the die was cast: after the lapse of thirty years I can truly say, that I think that I acted wisely, and in my best interests, and the fact, that I am alive still, confirms the soundness of my judgment. I felt, however, very downcast. One singular incident occurred. As I was waiting for my turn to see the Medical Examiners, I took up a Newspaper, and remarked the death on the previous day of my old friend and fellow-labourer, Sir Herbert Edwardes. He had enjoyed all the good things of life, and was no

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doubt worthy of them, but the Lord had not ordained for him the greatest of all blessings, serene length of days accompanied by health, talents, and usefulness. He had not reached fifty years: I published an Obituary notice of him. I could not fail to observe how many of my contemporaries, who had attained all, that had been denied to me, had passed away early; some never reached even sixty, and very few reached seventy years, and yet the years, which follow sixty, are under certain conditions the happiest in the whole life. I tried to show this in one of my Poems.

"O ye, who stand in trembling doubts and fears
"On the sad lower side of seventy-five,
"Think how we pity youthful sighs and tears,
"While we count up our joys, and cease to strive!

"The gusts of appetite, the clouds of care,
"The crave for things, which never satisfy;
"The fond desires, which youthful bosoms tear,
"Are, like our worn-out garments, long put by.

"At dawn we cry, "Thy Holy name be blest!
"Oh sanctify our unexhausted powers!"
"And when we sink in, maybe, our last rest,
"Thank Thee for holy, happy, golden, hours."

In my Obituary Notice of Sir Herbert Edwardes I wrote as follows: "There has been a long procession of Heroes and Statesmen traversing "the plains of Northern India. Amidst that great assembly, to me, "who knew and held converse with them all, no character appears more "chivalrous, more unique, more satisfying, than that of the 'preux "chevalier,' who loved the Lord, and loved his fellow-creatures, who, to "use his own words, took heed each day to place a stone in the basket "of Human Life, with a face upturned in Faith to Heaven, and the air "of one, who builds for Eternity."

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Second Series, pp. 273, 274.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 432.

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I think of that Procession of great and good men, which passed before my eyes from 1843 to 1867: Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Gough, Sir Robert Sale, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Charles Napier, Sir Henry Havelock, Lord Clyde, Lord Sandhurst, Lord Lawrence, Sir R. Montgomery, Sir D. McLeod, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Major Mackeson, Sir Henry Lawrence, George Lawrence, George Broadfoot, Sir H. Durand, and many others, not so well known out of India as in India.

Some fell in the Satláj Campaign; some, a few years later, in the Panjáb Campaign; some during the Mutinies thirteen years later; some by the knife of the Assassin; and some by accident or disease. With the exception of Sir James Outram, whom I tried to meet, but failed, I had known and conversed with all. I had also known the French Generals of Ranjit Singh, Generals Avitabile and Ventura, and the half-caste English General of the Sikh Army, General Courtland. The two Lieutenant-Governors, to whose kindness I was so much indebted, James Thomason, and John Colvin, both died in India, the term of their service uncompleted, untitled, and perhaps now forgotten, only in the fifties of their lives. I indeed have reason to be thankful for the last thirty blessed years.

When my good kind master, Sir John Lawrence, saw that all chance of my return to India was impossible, he recommended my being employed in England in drafting a Code of Revenue-Law for Northern India. It seemed to him unwise to throw away all my talents, ripe experience, and acquired knowledge of an intricate subject. As stated at page 81, I had myself suggested the necessity of a Code, and prepared a Digest of the existing Regulations. I quote copy of extract of letter from the Viceroy of India, Earl of Mayo, to the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, February 17, 1869:

"We have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence marginally noted, relative to the offer made in January, 1867, by Mr. R. N. Cust, C.S., then a Member of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, to prepare a Code of the existing Revenue-Law of the whole of Northern India, i.e., the Panjáb, North-Western Provinces, Central Provinces, and Oude. The objects, at which Mr. Cust aimed in

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wishing to carry out so useful a work, are explained in the Memorandum enclosed in his letter to the Government of India.

"Mr. Cust's offer was cordially accepted by the Government of India and by the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

"Considerable progress was made by Mr. Cust in the work during 1867, and the nature and amount of this progress is shown in the letter from the Board of Revenue to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, No. 828, dated the 8th November, 1867.

"The work which had been so well begun was suddenly, however, left unfinished, in consequence of a domestic calamity, which unhappily forced Mr. Cust to quit India on one year's leave. That leave has now expired, and we have since been led to understand, that it is not Mr. Cust's intention to return to this country.

"In August, 1868, Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, with reference to a suggestion, which had previously been made by his predecessor, the Hon. Edmund Drummond, stated to us his opinion, that, if Mr. Cust's services could be made available in England for elaborating the Code into a suitable form, it would be a most expedient arrangement. Sir William Muir considered, that no one was better qualified by a large experience and most intimate acquaintance with the Revenue Law, than Mr. Cust, to complete the proposed work.

"No action was taken by us on this suggestion, because we then entertained a hope, that Mr. Cust would be induced to return to India by the offer of a seat in the Legislative Council, which had at the time been made to him by the late Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence. Mr. Cust, however, did not accept the office; but while he adhered to his determination to resign the Service, he stated his readiness to go on with the work of preparing the Draft Code, if the Government should wish him to do so.

"We are strongly of opinion, that this is an opportunity, which it would be most unwise to throw away, as there is perhaps no one who possesses a more complete knowledge of the Revenue systems of Northern India than that, which is possessed by Mr. Cust.

"From the correspondence forwarded herewith, it will be seen, that Sir William Muir himself is most anxious that Mr. Cust should go on with the proposed work, the importance of which was by no means less fully recognized by his predecessor. The late Viceroy also, who possessed so profound a knowledge of these subjects, held the same opinion in regard to Mr. Cust's qualifications for the work and the importance of undertaking it.

"We would therefore request the favour of your asking Mr. Cust to continue the proposed Draft Code of Revenue Law on the basis sketched by him in his Memorandum of the 29th January, 1867. It would appear from paragraph 11 of the letter of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, of the 8th November, 1867, above

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referred to, that Mr. Cust expected that he would have been able to finish the work of codification in one year, or by the end of 1868, provided he was relieved of his other duties. Assuming this expectation to have been correct, we may express our willingness to sanction the grant to Mr. Cust of £500 for finishing the Code, and to bear all the expenses on account of printing, etc., which he may have to incur."

Assent was given: the Code was drafted and printed in 1870. It gave me satisfaction to think, that although practically dead to India, and dead by an act of suicide, I could still be of use, and that my capacity was appreciated. Sir John Strachey, then high in office, wrote: "Every-"body, I think, must admit that there is no man living, who possesses "a more profound knowledge of the Revenue System of Northern India, "and especially of the Panjáb, in which he served so many years." Sir Henry Maine, the Legislative Member of Council, wrote appreciatively of the copy of the Code, which I sent him in 1870. It was well. I had at least left India with some honour, and of a kind which I valued. The preparation of this Code, and the study of the Hebrew Language, preserved me during the years, which intervened betwixt 1868 and 1870, from a disturbance of my brain-power. Nothing but hard steady work could restore my intellectual powers to their proper equilibrium.

I stated that my last appointment held in India was in the North-West Provinces at Allahabad, and I received from the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. Sir Edmund Drummond, a kind appreciation of my services in that Province, only too short on the last occasion: but a voice was heard from the Panjáb, the Province, where I commenced my career, and an autograph letter reached me from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald McLeod, which I quote, as it helped to calm me. The lot of my dear friend, who wrote this letter, was harder than mine: he lost his young wife a few months after his marriage, but he managed to live on, and attained all the honours of the Service, and deserved them: he returned to England, and was killed in a Railway-accident very soon afterwards. Connected with that sad event is a remarkable incident

"Code of Land-Revenue Procedure, India," 1870.

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illustrative of the uncertainty of life of Anglo-Indians, and suggestive of the deep gratitude, which should be felt by those, to whom it has been conceded to return home, and live to be old in their native country. When Sir Donald McLeod made over his Government to his successor, Sir Henry Durand, it so happened, that the Earl of Mayo, the Viceroy, was at Lahór, and he presided at a banquet, where farewell was taken of the parting Governor, and welcome extended to his successor. Within one year of this banquet the Earl of Mayo was killed by an assassin in the Andaman Islands; Sir Henry Durand was crushed to death while mounted on his elephant, and passing under an archway in his own Province; and good dear Sir Donald was killed in a Railway-accident at a station of the Underground Railway in Kensington, while attempting to get into a train in motion. I followed his remains to the Hospital, and saw them in four separate parcels, and attended the Coroner's Inquest. I had known him from May, 1844, and though I did not always agree with him, I feel how much I was indebted to him as an example, and a monitor: he had lived as a man ready to die:

"Vixit ut moriturus; mortuus est ut victurus."

What boots it where the High Command is given,
Or whence th' enfranchised soul mounts up to Heaven?

R. N. C.

I now quote his letter alluded to above.

"As circumstances have compelled Mr. R. N. Cust, of the Bengal Civil Service, to return to England, and it is uncertain, whether he will return to India, it is due to him, that the head of the Government of the Panjáb, in which so large and important a part of his career has been passed, should place on record the sense entertained by the Government of that Province of the great value of the services he has rendered.

"For some years previous to the annexation of the Cis- and Trans-Satláj territories, he was attached as an Assistant to the Political Authorities charged with the conduct of our relations with the Protected States and the Government of Lahór, and in that sphere he so distinguished himself, that on the annexation of the Jalandhar Doáb, in 1846, he was selected, though yet quite a young man, to take charge of the Hoshyarpúr District, which he held for several years. I became Commissioner of that Division in 1849, so that I can state, from my own knowledge, that his administration of that

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District was masterly. Nothing could exceed his zeal; the deep interest he took in his work and the welfare of the people committed to his care; his general intelligence and thorough acquaintance with his duties; and his efficiency in all respects. He was afterwards transferred to Ambála, which was considered a more difficult charge, and after remaining there for some time, he took leave to England, on his return from whence he was employed for a time in the North-West Provinces, but was again reappointed to the Panjáb, as Commissioner of Lahór and Amritsar. Subsequently he officiated consecutively in the posts of Financial Commissioner and Judicial Commissioner, and again proceeded to England, after which he did not return to the Panjáb, officiating, at one time, as Member of the Legislative Council of India, and Secretary to the Government in the Home-Department, and being ultimately appointed a Member of the Board of Revenue, North-West Provinces, the post he now holds.

"Throughout his career in this Province, and in all the appointments he has from time to time held here, he has eminently distinguished himself as one of the ablest, most energetic, and conscientious, officers, who has ever served under this Government. He has done more than anyone else towards systematizing, elucidating, and simplifying, the various orders and rules of practice in both the Revenue and Judicial Departments, which have from time to time been issued in this Province, and has left behind him here an impress of the force of his talents and character, which will cause him to be long remembered with respect and admiration.

D. McLEOD,
Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb."

Murree, 25th October, 1867.

I visited Cockayne Hatley, where I was born, and where I hope to be buried. It was unoccupied, as my elder brother lived elsewhere. It had been the dream of my Indian life to settle there on my return home, but, when I considered the position, I abandoned the idea. London, the centre of all intellectual energy, was the only place for me, with intervals by the seaside at Eastbourne. I visited Belton, the home of my ancestors, for the funeral of my Aunt, the Countess of Albemarle. I then returned to London, and settled at No. 64, St. George's Square, Pimlico, where I dwelt sixteen years, until 1885. In addition to my two subjects, "Language and Religion," I took up other readings, especially of the English Poets, and read carefully Milton's "Paradise Lost," Homer's "Iliad," and Virgil's "Æneid." My mind was recovering its

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equilibrium, and I dreamed of possibilities of literary efforts, which were destined to be realized, for the completion of my Revenue-Code had left me like a tiger, which had tasted blood.

In June, 1870, my youngest daughter, Anna Maria Elizabeth, was born in my house. Family-cares and troubles distracted me, and my five children were never free from some illness or another. I tried to keep my eldest son at his first school, but failed. I did my best to be like a son to my two uncles, Colonel Cust and Sir Edward Cust, and felt that I was of use to them. I printed for private circulation a small volume containing all the contributions of my late wife, Emma, to Indian Periodicals. It was called "Fifteen Months in India." At length I was able to settle both my sons at a school at Laleham, near Staines, and I then ventured on the first of my yearly tours. We went to Malvern, where we tarried some weeks, and thence to Aberystwyth and Rhyl, in Wales; I made excursions to North Wales alone, and went up Snowdon. On my return to London I attended the funeral of my cousin, Lady Amelia Cust, at Kensal Green. I had visited her a few weeks before on her deathbed. We were very dear friends from our earliest youth, and used to correspond in India. I felt deeply her loss. I visited my uncle and aunt, Sir Edward and Lady Cust, at Leasowe Castle.

All seemed serene and happy, when, on November 21st, 1870, the news reached us that my eldest son, Peregrine Bertie, had sickened with the typhoid fever at his school. I went down, and lodged at a public-house, and many weary, weary days I nursed him night and day. Death was expected on the 29th, but he pulled through, and at length got better. All the time of his prolonged illness the frightful war was raging betwixt France and Germany. I was very unwell, and too crushed to do any literary work on my return to London.

The year 1871 opened sadly. I was too much occupied with domestic anxieties to settle down to study. My old friend, Sir Robert Montgomery, was now on the India Council, and from time to time used

"Fifteen Months in India," by E. C.; London, 1870.

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to send me papers bearing on Revenue-subjects for my opinion. It so happened, that the post of Secretary in the Revenue-Department of the India-Office fell vacant, and Sir Robert placed my name before the Secretary of State for India as a suitable candidate. I had seen a good deal of the inner life of the India-Office, and did not much fancy going into harness again, with fixed days and hours and routine Office-work. I saw the life, which some of my friends were living, and did not fancy it. The friends of the next man in the Department were anxious, that the promotion should go to him as next in the Regiment; those, who were interested in India, wished, that the place should be held by a man, who knew the subject in the field. I was requested to call on the Duke of Argyll, and his Grace asked me, whether I was particularly anxious for the post. I replied that I had never applied for it, but, if asked to take it, I should think it my duty to accept it. I was most thankful that I was not asked. It would have been £1,200 per annum dearly bought, and how different should I have now been if I had accepted it, instead of giving my Genius full liberty to seek its own fields!

I was glad, when the idea was dropped, and I took up at once a course of serious Study. It was in the train, as I was returning from Lowestoft, where I had spent some weeks, that I received the ultimate decision of the Duke of Argyll, and I came back to town rejoicing.

More than a quarter of a Century has passed since I made this decision, and I feel that I was right. Assyria, Egypt, Language, Religion, the Origin of Writing, Geography, my old Classics, and my later Oriental authors, seemed to be crying out to me to notice them. I had brought home a list of a score of subjects to be looked into, *when I had leisure.* Leisure! when should I have found it, if I had gone into harness again? I had rejected the bait of £5,000 per annum in India; should I be gulled by £1,200 per annum in England? I had tasted 'Power' when I was 24 years of age; I desired a wider field at 51. I was tired of being a paid servant. I felt like Horace:

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri." (Ep., ii, 14.)

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I wanted to indulge my Genius, gratify my tastes. I had not been in India the kind of public Officer, who could draw his £4,000 per annum of public money, and spend half his time in looking at medals, deciphering Inscriptions, and spelling out manuscripts. But my time was my own now. I had bought it at a heavy price.

"Dico tibi verum: Libertas optima rerum."

My domestic troubles had not ceased: my eldest son seemed so much recovered, that he went back to school on February 17, 1871; he fell ill again at once. I spent more weary weeks at Laleham, and gave up all hope; but he did pull through again: it was his last journey, when he was moved to Mickleham. He died on May 10: I was with him to the end. I had retired to the adjacent Inn for a few hours' rest; early I looked out of the window, and saw someone leaving the house, where the poor boy was: it was a messenger to summon me to witness his last moments. He was buried at Mickleham, May 15. His poor Mother, who died in India seven years before, was at least spared this sorrow.

I was utterly prostrated for a long time: all hopes of peace and quiet seemed to have passed away. My youngest daughter was dreadfully ill, and seemed ready to follow her brother. We all moved to Eastbourne on July 29. I went down to Cardington, Beds, to be present at my uncle Colonel Cust's birthday on the 13th August: he was 80 years of age. I wrote a short Poem on the subject. I visited Cockayne Hatley to see my elder brother.

On October 10 we all returned to London. I started a separate study for myself, and had fourteen years' hard work in that room until 1885, when I changed my residence.

In 1872 I began to attend Learned Societies, and was elected on the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society; my attention was particularly drawn to Linguistic Studies. I was present at the funeral of my old aunt, Emma, Countess Brownlow, at Belton: she had always been a very kind friend to me from my boyhood. I tried to get my Books

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and Papers and Letters into order with a view of commencing a new literary life, but it seemed hopeless sometimes, for my domestic burdens were heavy upon me I paid my first visit after many years to Oxford to see my old friend Professor Monier-Williams. I joined the Philological Society. I entered the name of my only surviving son (Robert Henry Hobart) at Eton College, and went with him on a trip to Stonehenge and Bath. We all moved to the last place on April 13, and I made excursions into Somersetshire, South Wales, and Gloucestershire, and returned to London April 27.

It is at this time, that I drew up a Scheme for the general Study of all the Languages of the World, to be gradually worked out. I did not mean such a knowledge of each Language, as would enable me to talk, or read, or write, in it, but to know the locality, the Linguistic Family, to which it belonged, and the comparative importance of each Language or Dialect. I visited my uncle Colonel Cust on his birthday, August 13, at Darsham, in Suffolk. We were two months as usual at Eastbourne, and thence made an excursion to Torquay, Penzance, and other watering-places in Devonshire and Cornwall. I crossed over alone to the Scilly Islands. I got back to London October 17.

During 1873 I joined the Committee of the Vincent-Square-Hospital. I visited the Isle of Wight, and the New Forest: accompanied my uncle Colonel Cust to Belton, and visited him at Barton Lodge, on his last birthday, for he died in September of that year, to my great sorrow. I spent the Autumn at Scarborough, and went thence to Edinburgh, and made an excursion to the North of Scotland as far as Caithness, and to Strome-Ferry, and thence by Oban to Glasgow, and Kirkcudbright. My object was to make myself acquainted with my own country before I commenced on my Annual Foreign Tour. I then settled down in London earnestly to my Studies.

My son entered Eton on April 23; I took him down to the house, which I had occupied in my Eton-days in Weston's Yard, and settled him comfortably in my old room, which I had occupied six years, 1834 to 1840, nearly forty years ago.

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In January, from the window of a house opposite the Horse Guards, I saw the procession pass along, of which the centre was Alexander II, Emperor of Russia, and his daughter Marie Alexandrovna, who was brought over to marry the second son of Queen Victoria, now Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha.

I had now found time for two interests specially my own: (1) attending Meetings of Societies, (2) reading for particular purposes. I began writing papers for the *Calcutta Review* again. I tried to assist my honoured friend Sir Charles Trevelyan in a small Association to correct the system of voting for Charitable Institutions, and the Charity Organization Society. I also joined the Foreign Literary Societies at Paris and Berlin. I had thus made a move towards my desired haven of Study, and Works of Benevolence. I entered for the first time the rooms of the Church Missionary Society, destined to be so well known to me in future years. I began to understand what was going on within the Orbit of my interests, and to know the chief labourers. New fields seemed to be opening to my wondering eyes: I had to work up heavy arrears of knowledge since my College-days. I read Hebrew daily. During a short stay at Leamington, I visited Warwick, Kenilworth, Stratford-on-Avon, Coventry, and Edge Hill. I was in constant attendance on my now only surviving uncle, Sir Edward Cust. In the Autumn we moved to Southport in Lancashire: I made many excursions from this centre, and drove round the Isle of Man, and went as far as Glen Trool in County Galloway, Scotland. In September I settled my family at Penmaenmawr, North Wales, while I and my son went up to London to be present at the Second International Oriental Congress held in that City; the first had taken place the previous year at Paris. It was most fortunate, that this new Movement should have happened just at this period of my Studies, for it supplied me with such a knowledge of subjects, and men, as I could have acquired in no other way, and enabled me to make the acquaintance of all the Oriental Scholars of Europe, which in subsequent Meetings ripened into valuable friendships.

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An interesting incident may be recorded here. Very little hospitality, except by the Lord Mayor, was shown to the assembled foreign Scholars. It so happened, that the King and Queen of Romania, then only Prince and Princess, were the guests of my cousin, Lady Marion Alford, in her beautiful London-house, and she authorized me to invite select Scholars of all Nationalities to a reception under her roof. Sir Henry Rawlinson and I dined there previous to the Reception, and Sir Henry took down to dinner the Mother of the Queen, the Princess of Wied, and I had the honour of taking down the Queen. On the next day I accompanied them to the Theatre: she was indeed most charming. At the Reception all the Scholars were presented to her, and were delighted. She is a Poetess, well known as "Carmen Sylva."

Looking back upon the last quarter of a Century of hard labour, I attribute whatever little success, that I have attained, to my extraordinary good fortune in being able to attend Oriental Congresses. So many new subjects were revealed to me, so many charming correspondents in several languages were obtained, so many old difficulties were removed. I learned the names of the leading Authorities, and the names of the latest volumes, on each Branch of Study within my Orbit. I used to compile and send an account of each Congress to the *Calcutta Review*: the preparation of this was of great interest and advantage to me.

In the Autumn, I and my wife and my two daughters visited Ireland, and took apartments in Dublin: here I left them, and deliberately made a tour of the whole Island. I had long taken an interest in the tenures of land in Ireland, and I picked up a great deal in the third-class-compartments of the Railways in conversation with the people. Of course I visited Killarney, and the Giant's Causeway, and kissed the Blarney-Stone, at some risk to my life. I attended Meetings of the Magistrates in Quarter-Sessions. I derived great advantage from this tour. I returned to London for the Winter; my time was now fully

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 411.

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employed, and I have never had an hour's leisure since. How I have longed to borrow the *unemployed* hours of some of my Anglo-Indian friends!

The year 1875 found me at full stretch. I attended lectures on Assyriology and Egyptology, which opened my eyes to an entirely new field. The lectures were given by such picked Scholars as Renouf, Sayce, and others, and elementary books were specially compiled for the Class. This really was a stroke of good fortune, for there were none such previously, nor, as far as I know, since.

I wrote papers for the *Calcutta Review*, and the Proceedings of the Philological Society, At Easter we moved to Dover for a short time. I was in constant attendance on my old uncle, Sir Edward Cust, the last of his generation. I found myself getting up to the contemporary high-water mark level in all Linguistic subjects. I was determined to keep abreast with the whole, from Japanese, at one extremity, to the Languages of the North American Indian, at the other: there was no wish to master their Language, but to find out about their Families, peculiarities, and Literature, if any. This entailed the steady reading of the last ten years' volumes of all the Proceedings of Learned Societies in Great Britain and on the Continent, in English, French, German, and Italian. It was a most fascinating employment, and, though I never forgot India, I used to rejoice, that I had at last found time for one of my two favourite subjects, 'Language.' The other was 'Religion,' and will be noticed further on. They represent the two congenital gifts of God to Man.

In July I hired a house for my family at Dunkeld in Perthshire. I made numerous excursions, one to Oban and the Isle of Iona; one to the Orkney Islands and John o' Groat's House. On my return to London I made a brief experimental visit to Paris to feel my way as to taking my family there at Easter. In fact I had now been all over England, Ireland, and Scotland, and Europe must be the future scene of my annual activities. I felt clearly, that it was not sufficient to read and write in my own library; nor was it sufficient to make the valuable acquaintance of the

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 460.

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Scholars of my own country. I must have a wider sphere: Europe, Asia, and Africa. I tried to attain it, and I succeeded.

In 1876 I found my course of Study and Orbit of interest not only marked out, but occupied. I paid repeated visits to Oxford and Cambridge, with great advantage. I had joined a great many Learned Societies, but up to this date my mouth had never been opened on platforms, nor had I sent any Manuscript to the Press in the form of separate volumes: but the time was at hand. I felt myself stronger every day; I rejoiced to think, that I was neither an exile in India, nor an official slave in the India-Office in London. I felt like an old lion, which, while it still had teeth, had got free from its cage. I never repented having cut the cable, which tied me to India, for I could now feed my Genius, cultivate my mind, range round the whole World in my classification of Languages, or feel my way back in History, in the study of ancient Manuscripts, Papyri, and Clay-bricks. It was most fascinating to visit the British Museum, or the Libraries of the Asiatic and Geographical Societies. In April I paid a visit of three weeks to Paris; the marked kindness and sympathy, with which I was received by the French Oriental Scholars, quite amazed me. I felt proud of the new arena, into which I had been permitted to step down, and of the fellow-labourers, or even antagonists, in my favourite subjects.

In August I settled my family at Eastbourne, and on the 15th I and my son, who was at home for his Eton-Holidays, started for the Third International Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg. We travelled by Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Helsingfors in Finland, and at each place we met kind friends, some for the first and some for the second time. We reached St. Petersburg, and settled down in a quiet Hotel. Instead of being a stranger in a foreign country, on this occasion I found myself in the midst of friends. We had been introduced to Don Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, on board ship, and saw a great deal of him: one anecdote is illustrative of the strange circumstances, under which I found myself. I was seated by the side of His Majesty at a Meeting in one of the Palaces of the Emperor of Russia, when he leaned

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over and whispered in my ear in French, that he had just had a telegram from Constantinople, stating that the Sultan of Turkey had been ejected from his throne, and that a new Sultan (the same who still reigns) had seized the Government. In the Palace of the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Brazil told me of the deposition of the Sultan of Turkey. Another event took place, but of a more touching character. Professor Oppert, of Paris, had mounted the rostrum to make a violent attack on George Smith, the celebrated English interpreter of Assyrian Cuneiform Inscriptions of the British Museum. A telegram was handed to him to communicate the death of George Smith. He folded up his notes, and retired to his seat amidst a deep silence. I felt, that I was in an arena of great and noble warriors. When I reflect on the influence, which this great assembly of the Scholars of Europe had upon me, I felt, that I was indeed not only working up to the level of contemporary knowledge on subjects familiar to me in old days, but new roads were being traced out for future study, of which I had never dreamed. The Emperor of Russia was absent from St. Petersburg, but we all dined in his two Palaces of Peterhof and Tsarkoe-Selo, and the attention shown to us was wonderful. I can hardly describe the advantage which I derived. I heard for the first time of the Inscriptions in Central Asia at Orkhon, of the Languages of the Caucasus, and the Altaic Languages of North Russia. I travelled home by Warsaw, and thence by steamer to Dresden: an absurd accident happened to me. I sat down on a large wooden case: it proved to be full of eggs, and a yellow stream began to emerge. I fled to the other end of the vessel, and became aware, that I had destroyed two thousand eggs. I tried to keep out of the way, but the owner had spotted me: before long the Captain of the steamer approached me, and, after salutation, asked me in German, whether I had had the misfortune of sitting down on a box of eggs. I replied, "Ja wohl." He then said, "Do you not think that the owner deserves some compensation?"

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 434.

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I replied, "Wie' viel?" He said, "Zwei Zwanziger," which I at once handed to him, with ceremonious salutation. I wrote my annual Report of this Congress for the *Calcutta Review*, and a little volume, "How I spent my Summer Holidays. By an Etonian," with a Latin copy of verses as a kind of holiday task. My son went back to Eton; I to Eastbourne, and then London, where I fell to hard study with renewed vigour and confidence.

I cannot think, that the Moral and Intellectual training of any man is complete, who has not habitually frequented the Conference, Council, and Committee, of earnest men. Those, who have not done so, become dogmatic in their narrow one-sidedness, and are unable to float on the foremost wave of developed Knowledge in any particular Branch of Study.

In 1877 I pursued uninterruptedly my studies, and made great progress. I attended my English learned Societies, Royal Geographical, Royal Asiatic, Philological, Biblical Archæology, and received and read the Periodicals of the English Dialect-Society, the Palæographical Society, the German Oriental Society, the Société Linguistique, Paris, the Société Asiatique, Paris, the Société Philologique, Paris. In addition to my Egyptian and Assyrian Lectures, I attended private Meetings of Hebraists at a friend's house, and we went over the portion of the Old Testament, which the Revision-Committee of the Old Testament was dealing with: this was most interesting. On February 21 I gave a Lecture, my very first, on the Non-Arian Tribes of North India, as a fit subject for Evangelizing operations at the Church Mission House, Salisbury Square: it was fully attended, and my proposals were acted upon. I sent a Report on the Indo-Chinese Languages of Further India to the Philological Society. I went to Eton to be present at my son's Confirmation in the Chapel, where I had myself been confirmed, and I sat in our Family-stall, which recorded six generations of our Race, who were Eton-Boys of the past, and now there was a seventh. I took the opportunity of calling to see my dear Mother's two sisters, Lady Alicia Bristowe, and Lady Georgiana Needham, in their old age at Datchet

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 795.

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House. I had often run over to that house as an Eton-Boy myself forty-three years ago.

On my return from St. Petersburg last year I had stopped at Brussels, and was so pleased with it, that I took my family to that City for the Easter Holidays, 1877, and put up at the Hôtel Mengelle. With my son I visited the chief cities of Holland, and stood by the carriage of the King of Holland, and his newly-married Queen, in their entry into Amsterdam: this took place twenty-two years ago, and the sole issue of that wedding, the Queen of Holland, came of age, while I am writing this in 1898.

I was this year elected on the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, and continued to be so for fifteen years. I was elected a Member of the Correspondence Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and paid my annual visit to Oxford and Cambridge. I also joined the Committee of the Asiatic Strangers' Home at Limehouse, of which I am Vice-President, and the Committee of the National School of St James the Less, Pimlico, in which parish I then resided. My interests and experiences, and scope of usefulness, were, I trust, enlarged annually. I attended the Confirmation of my second daughter in St. Luke's, Westminster. In the Summer I went to Eastbourne with my family. My son and I made a tour in Switzerland and Austria, and back to London. I paid a visit with my wife to Stoke-on-Trent in the Potteries, and Buxton. I visited my friend Edward Brandreth at Knoch Dhu, near Inellan, opposite to the Island of Bute. I went over to the Island of Bute, and visited the residence of the Marquess of Bute. We returned to London in October.

I had prepared a Linguistic Map of the Languages of the East Indies for the *Geographical Magazine*: this was my first start in my Linguistic Publications. Greater things were behind.

In the first month of the year 1878 my only surviving uncle, Sir Edward Cust, died, to my great sorrow. He had been staying in the Autumn of 1877 at Tunbridge Wells, and I was asked to go, and be with him a few days. I gladly accepted the offer. He was very weak, but

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he used to get out and sit under the trees. One day, Dr. Wellesley, the Dean of Windsor, an old friend, joined us, and sat some time: the conversation turned upon the office of Justice of the Peace: my uncle asked me why I did not apply for the office: I answered, that I had no one to recommend me: the Dean struck in, that he would write to his cousin, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex, to recommend me. I thanked him heartily, and next day I received a letter to say that I was appointed. It was a mere chance, and yet it was a great gain to me. I became *ex-officio* Guardian of the Poor of St. George's Parish, Hanover Square, and, when I changed my residence, of Chelsea Parish; and the appointment opened out new fields of usefulness connected with Prisons, Lunatic Asylums, Licensing Music-halls and Liquor-Selling. I was indeed fortunate.

I took my dear uncle back to London, and left him at his hotel: it was his last journey. I accompanied his remains to Belton, where he was buried in the old Family-graveyard, the last of my Grandfather's thirteen Children, and the friend of my youth, manhood, and declining years. By a strange fatality, within two months Sir Leopold Cust, his only son, much younger than myself, died also.

When I take stock of my Periodical Engagements at the close of my first Decade, December, 1877, I find the following:

Royal Geographical Society: Meetings and Council.
Royal Asiatic Society: Meetings and Council.
Philological Society: Meetings and Council.
Society of Biblical Archæology: Meetings and Council.
English Dialect Society: Publication.
Palæographical Society: Publication.
Société Asiatique, Paris: Publication.
Société Linguistique, Paris: Publication.
Charity Organization Society: Meetings.
Hospital, Vincent Square, S.W.: Meetings.
National School Committee, St. James the Less, Pimlico: Meetings.

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This year I printed for private circulation a small volume containing a Poem called, "A Life's Trial: by a Sufferer." As I emerged from my great sorrow, and by God's Grace found new openings, new employments, new interests, I was desirous to convey the comforting assurance, that such things could be, to other sufferers, who might see my Footprints in the Sands of Time.

> "Footprints, that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
> A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
> Seeing, shall take heart again."
>
> LONGFELLOW: *Psalm of Life.*

The Reader will remark, that as soon as the administrative duties of India were off my brain, the Languages of the World became the chief object of my interest and study during this first Decade, 1868–1877, of my residence in England. All my reading and writing was devoted to this one Branch of study. As the second Decade, 1878–1887, opened, I found myself irresistibly passing into the environment of the "Evangelization of the Non-Christian World," and the "Diffusion of the Scriptures in every Language of the World"; but, when the third Decade opened, 1888–1897, I found that a still more important subject had to be studied, profoundly, and impartially, as it had never been done before, or done imperfectly, viz., "the Ancient and Modern Religious Conceptions of the World." Although it was in the second Decade, that I published my volume on the Modern Languages of the East Indies, and the Modern Languages of Africa, and other Linguistic works, it appears convenient, once for all, to express my opinion on the subject of Language, or 'Articulate Speech,' and 'Recorded Script.'

It has been remarked by a competent authority, W. Whitmore, that "Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of "Dictionary-makers, but is something arising out of the work, needs, "ties, joys, affections, tastes of long generations of Humanity, and has

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" its bases broad and low close to the ground. The final decisions are " made by the masses, people nearest the concrete, having much to do with " actual land and sea." ("Evolution in Philosophy, Science, and Art.") This is the modern view, and no doubt true, but it omits the fact, that, while 'Script' is essentially and entirely a Human Art, the power of Articulate Speech is one of the congenital gifts of the Creator to the Human Race without exception, thus differentiating it from the Animal-Kingdom, which can utter inarticulate sounds, understood indeed by their hearers, but not susceptible of improvement, expansion, or of record. The idea of 'Reason' stands close behind the fact of 'Speech,' or utterance of 'Words.' The word *Λόγος* of Plato, Philo, and John the Evangelist, has for its *primary* meaning in the Dictionary, "Reason, Understanding," and the *secondary* meaning only is "Word or Speech." In my early Eton days the theory was, that at some remote period, ancient men had settled round a table the moods, tenses, numbers, and cases, of Greek and Latin Words. The publication of the Public School Latin Grammar and its Preface in 1871 did away with that ridiculous notion, and the Historic Method has in this, as well as in every other Branch of Human Knowledge, taken the place of wild theories, and audacious postulates. The Human Mind has grown by a continuous development, and the Divine gift of Articulate Speech, and the Human Art of 'Script,' have grown with it to satisfy its requirements. Will any sane person assert, that the words "Let there be (light)" and "Let Us make (man)" in the 1st chapter of Genesis were uttered, as reported, by the Great Creator, as they are in the 3rd person of the present tense, subjunctive mood, of the verb, in one case singular, and in one case plural, and it is impossible to postulate a Divine origin before the Creation of man for Grammatical inflections, which are the product of the Human mind during a long course of years.

In Appendix VII of this Life-Memoir, I state the number of Languages, with which I am familiar to a greater or less degree in one or two or all of their three phases: (1) Reading, (2) Composition in writing, (3) Familiar use in conversation; and I do not hesitate to say,

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that I am indebted for all this to the accurate knowledge acquired at Eton College of the Greek and Latin for reading and composing in prose or verse. It may be said of Languages, as of the bodies of men, that they must all have certain members differing in form but not in kind. Given a precise and intelligent knowledge of one Human body, obtained by careful dissection, it would not be difficult to acquire by study a knowledge of other bodies. I have always recommended the Gospel of Mark as the best textbook for acquiring any Language. The English version is well known: all that has to be done is to read, verse by verse, in (say, for example) Urdu and English, and compel your intellect to follow the Idea contained in the English into its Urdu garment; by the end of the Chapter progress will be made. In any ordinary writing there are but a limited number of words used: they recur repeatedly: enter them in a list, and then work out the Grammatical changes. Sentences must exist, and they are made up of substantives, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, and a few extras, with certain modifications caused by Inflection in Inflexive Languages.

As to the form of Written Character, it seems an insuperable difficulty at first glance, but a few weeks' study gets over that difficulty. The study of Language, in its widest sense, is one of the most fascinating to be imagined, for each region opens out new combinations, the creatures of the Human Intellect under different circumstances. The legend of all Languages being descended from one is entirely exploded: the different families of speech sprang from entirely independent sources, and could never, until the last two Centuries, have come into contact with each other: we have specimens of Monosyllabic, Polysyllabic, Agglutinative, Inflexive, Polysynthetic.

The study is a Science of the highest order, with secrets still to be revealed. Old Languages are dying out like the leaves of the Forest: New Languages are coming into existence, and preparing to be the great Vernaculars of the next Generation. I recollect our Sanskrit Professor at the East India College, in 1841, commenting on the difference of value betwixt the work of Lassen's "Alterthumskunde," and the Comparative

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Grammar of Bopp: he remarked, that the first one added to our store of Knowledge by studying ancient Books; the other wasted his time in the profitless analysis of sentences and even words. We know now which of these great Scholars was on the right track.

The Essays and Books which I have published on the subject of Language within the three Decades of Part III of this Memoir are:

(1) Modern Languages of India.
(2) Modern Languages of Africa, 2 vols. } English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek.
(3) Modern Languages of Oceania. English, German, French.
(4) Modern Languages of the Caucasus. English.
(5) Languages of the Altaic Family. English, German.
(6) Bible-Languages.
(7) Bible-Translations.

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Chapter VII.

PERIOD VI.

AFTER INDIA, 1868–1897. SECOND DECADE, 1878–1887.

(1) Municipal Duties, Justice of the Peace, Guardian of the Poor, Magisterial Visitor of Prisons and Lunatic Asylums.
(2) Denunciation of abuses and jobs.
(3) Lectures and addresses on Secular and Religious Platforms.
(4) International Oriental Congresses in Foreign Capitals of Europe.
(5) International Geographical Congresses in Foreign Capitals of Europe.
(6) Publication of Books and Maps: contribution to Periodicals Secular and Religious.
(7) Linguistic Studies.
(8) Tours in Foreign Countries.
(9) Aid given in Political Contests for Seats in Parliament, and Municipalities.
(10) Scientific and Benevolent Associations.
(11) Deputations and Lectures out of London.
(12) Missionary Conferences.

1878.

MY Memoir approaches now a period of active and busy employment, such as any middle-aged man might rejoice in. For several years I had been studying the subject of the "Modern Languages of the East Indies, Nearer and Further India," and this year I published my Volume in Trübner's Oriental Series, though at my own charges. The Government of India took one hundred copies for distribution in India,

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and this led to a large number of reports sent to the India Office, and forwarded to me, which I have handed over to my dear and valued friend, Mr. George Grierson, to whom I have bequeathed the interleaved copy of my Book, full of additional information. He will be able to publish a far superior work. I followed the track marked out by an esteemed Scholar, Mr. John Beames, in his "Aryan Vernaculars of India," published in 1875. Knowledge is always advancing, and my book will in due course be superseded; yet it has done what it was intended to do, and gave me great satisfaction, and a position among Scholars. I contributed to the *Calcutta Review* Essays on "The Languages and Religions of India," which have been translated and published in several European Languages.

A strange thing happened to me this year. I had long found my pen, but now, at the age of 57, I found my tongue also; and for the next twenty years, in the Committee-Room, on the Platform, Religious, Scientific, and Political, and in Pulpits, I found, that I could hold my own, make long addresses, and give lectures *vivâ voce*. It was indeed a great surprise to me. I used to listen to others with a feeling of envy, and regret, that I had not the gift; but suddenly I found, that I had it. As I always recorded in my Speech-Book each occasion of my speaking, I find that, up to this date I have spoken upwards of six hundred times, and in all the great towns of Great Britain. I continued my attendance on the Egyptian and Assyrian lectures: indeed, they were essential to a grasp of the subject.

I had two warnings: my cousin, Sir Leopold Cust, Bart., son of my dear uncle, Sir Edward Cust, died suddenly: he was ten years younger than me. My only surviving son fell ill of the Typhoid Fever in his Dame's house at Eton: he was the only boy attacked out of 800. My eldest son had died of the same disease in 1871, but in the interim the Prince of Wales had been attacked by this disease, and

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 107.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 144.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 53.

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brought through by Sir W. Jenner, whose attendance on my son I secured regardless of expense, and he used to come down from London to Eton so many times a week. I watched by the sick-bed six weeks, and all hopes of life were at one time abandoned. It was a peculiar trial to be exposed to. School went on as usual: I heard the boys going up and down the staircase; when I took a little fresh air, all was full of life. I attended Service at the Chapel, seated in my own Family-Seat, and I heard my only son prayed for as in extreme peril: I went down again into deep waters: it was not the Lord's will, that I should have peace: His will be done! But my son did recover, and has lived twenty years since then. The kindness of my friends, and the sympathy shown to me by the Authorities at Eton, pass all description.

I visited my dear brother Henry at Cockayne-Hatley, and slept in the old house. I went to Church, and sat in the old Seats, and walked over the dear village, visiting my few surviving acquaintances.

I read a paper at a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Progress of Oriental Study in India. I settled my family at Eastbourne. I called on Sir W. Jenner with my son to thank him, and he was good enough to say, that part of the happy result was owing to my unremitting care, and attendance day and night. I felt thankful and glad, that I had not accepted employment at the India-Office, which would have prevented my being absent from London. Sir W. Jenner gave my son leave to accompany me to the Fourth Oriental International Congress at Florence, which met on the 12th September, 1878. In passing through Lyons I attended the Meeting of the French Oriental Congress at that place, and thanks were conferred upon me by the President for my Book on "The Modern Languages of the East Indies," and I was called upon to stand up and address the audience, which I did in the English Language. I took an active part in the Congress at Florence: I had prepared a paper on the Non-Arian Languages of India, in the Italian Language, which my friend Professor Pullé read aloud in the Section at my request.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 124.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 150.

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I dined in the Pitti Palace, as I was one of the Delegates of the Royal Asiatic Society; and in the absence of King Humbert, his late brother, the Duke of Aosta, ex-King of Spain, presided, and I was presented to, and shook hands with, him. I had the great pleasure of sitting at table next to the distinguished Italian author, Villari, and had conversation with him in Italian. I wrote an account of this Congress for the *Calcutta Review*.

After the Congress I and my son visited Venice, Ravenna, and Milan; thence to Paris, where we were in time for a French Geographical Congress, and I was called upon to address the assembly. I got home on September 29, but I returned to Paris a few weeks later with my wife and youngest daughter to see the Paris-Exhibition.

In October I attended a Missionary Conference in Mildmay Hall: it was the first of a decennial series. All the Protestant Denominations and Societies, with the exception of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, sent representatives. I was one of the Managing Committee, and had to address the assembly. This meeting was very instructive to me. As in Science and in Politics, so in the much higher work of Evangelization, Friendly Conferences are most important. I met old friends, and made many new ones.

I this year sent a paper to the *Calcutta Review* on the Phenician Alphabet, and Monumental Inscriptions all over the World: this is my own favourite branch of Linguistic Study, and of intense interest. After the lapse of twenty years, in 1898, while I write this, I have on my table the outlines of an Essay, illustrating further developments in the last twenty years, for, though we have advanced, we are still only on the lower rounds of the ladder. Men of ancient time were not such fools, as it was the fashion of the half-instructed Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth, Centuries, to consider them. Among the achievements of

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 452.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 342.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 370.

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the wonderful Nineteenth Century, so soon to close, none is greater than the advanced Knowledge of Ancient Inscriptions.

I suggested the idea of founding an Inscription-Society, with the view of collecting scattered Materials, keeping a narrative of work in progress, and publishing a volume to illustrate our present knowledge, and to record selected Texts and Translations. Nothing came of it, and after the lapse of twenty years, I regret that it should be so. The want is still felt, and I trust that some day someone will take up the matter as a new idea of his own. From a Linguistic and Palæographical point of view, such Memorials of the Past on tablets of Stone or Metal, or imprinted in baked bricks, are priceless, but they have a special value of their own. In the case of Manuscripts on Papyrus, Vellum, or Paper, of which copies of copies are made, there is always a risk of fabrication, omission, and interpolation. Here there is none; and the soul wakes up in glad surprise to think, that kings like Asóka in North India should out of their own good heart have written such good things in the centuries preceding the Christian Era.

1879.

I joined in 1879 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and I subscribed to the Wesleyan, Independent, Baptist, and Moravian, Missionary Societies. I was not going to enclose my labours for the Evangelization of the World within the narrow fence of one particular party or Church. I am tall enough to look over the miserable fences, which separate so-called Churches; to bring the World to Christ is my single object. I cannot go so far as to join Romish Societies, but I wish them well in their sacred duties, and am glad to meet their Missionaries, and help them in Linguistic matters, as I get, indeed, much help from them. There I draw my line.

As a Justice of the Peace, I joined the Visiting Committee to Lunatic Asylums, and served at Colney Hatch, Hanwell, and Banstead,

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, pp. 24, 33.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 115.

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successively, until the day came, when they were transferred from the County-Magistrates to the County-Council. I have ever doubted the wisdom of that Act of the Legislature. I took a keen interest in this duty. It opened out a new phase of Human Suffering and Duty.

I wrote a pamphlet on "The Relation of the Government of India to Education." It was reprinted in my "Notes on Missionary Subjects," 1889.

I published in Paris a French Translation of my Essays on "Languages and Religions of India" in the *Calcutta Review* of 1878. I sent to the *Nuova Anthologia* of Rome a contribution in the Italian Language of a paper on "The Inscription of Asóka."

At Easter I made a tour to Cheltenham, Gloucester, Tintern Abbey, Swansea, Caermarthen, Tenby, Pembroke, and St. Davids, and took my son for a short trip to Holland. My sphere of work was now annually enlarging, and I received an invitation to join the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society. This work has been the joy of my heart for twenty years. I have made Deputation-tours for the Society, spoken on scores of platforms, and written long and serious volumes, and I hope that I have advanced this excellent and catholic work. I have had my reward.

I attended this year the funeral in Westminster Abbey of my dear and honoured friend John, Lord Lawrence, whom I had served for a space of twenty years on and off in India: to him I was devoted from the time, that I first knew him in 1846, and his kindness to me was great and never ceasing: we never had a difference of opinion. I hope that I was useful to him, and he was always anxious to employ me. He was not only my Master, but my Model, and my Friend. He sent for me when I was in England to be Commissioner of Lahór in 1856: I declined. Again he summoned me to that post in 1858. In 1864 he wrote to me in England in my deep sorrow to come out to him as Member of the Legislative Council: in 1865 he appointed me to be Member of the Board of Revenue in the North-West Provinces. When I fled in my deep second sorrow to England, he again called me out

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 418.

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to be on his Council in 1868. Had I obeyed his summons, I had before me bright prospects: but it was not to be, and it is well. I have had the blessing denied to him, of a long serene old age, and usefulness in a new sphere at home. As I walked in the procession, I suddenly spied the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone in the crowd. I addressed him, and found, that he had arrived too late to take his place, as one of the chief mourners, and did not know exactly what to do. I at once made room for him betwixt myself and an Indian friend, and, as the procession advanced, we conversed lowly together on the great merits of the great man, whom we were trying to honour. As we knelt side by side I was impressed by the fervour, with which he pronounced the prayers of the service. I had known him first in 1840, when as a young man he had examined the Eton-Boys for the Newcastle Scholarship, and I met him several times later on. I had a profound admiration for him, though I was obliged to oppose him in politics on the subject of Irish Home-Rule.

This year I gave a lecture to the Eton-Boys on the Languages of Asia. My son left Eton this year, and was entered at Trinity-College, Cambridge. I spent the Summer at Eastbourne, and then went on a tour in Italy with my wife. I settled down for the Winter at Committee and Literary work, and I gave a lecture at the Royal Society of Literature on the Excavations, which were proceeding at Rome, and which I had lately inspected. I wrote papers for the *Journal of the India Association*, and the Anthropological Institute.

1880.

In 1880 I joined the Translation-Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and I was also on the Editorial Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, so practically everything published in foreign Languages in connection with the Missions of the Church of England passed under my observation, and my knowledge of the Languages of the World was widening enormously; the names of the Translators became known to me, and greatly helped

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me in the account of the Languages of Africa, America, Oceania, the Caucasus, and the Altaic Turki Family, which from time to time I had in preparation at different stages. My hands were very full, and I was constantly on the Platform. I wrote a paper on the lax mode of expenditure of the Church Missionary Society: I could not approve of their mode of conducting business. However, both the leading Secretaries disappeared from the scene this year, one being drowned in a Westmoreland lake, and the other being called upon to resign. I was carefully watching the mode of conducting business, and spoke out later on.

This year I became Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, an Office which I hold to this day. I published this year, at my own charges, a volume of Linguistic and Oriental Essays in Trübner's Oriental Series. My desire was, that the careful papers, which I had contributed to the *Calcutta Review* and other Journals, over a space of *nearly forty years*, should be readily available to Students in the same field. I became painfully aware how difficult it was to get hold of a paper contributed years ago by some deceased Scholar to some Periodical, and yet that paper was the germ of some important development, or the link in some important chain. I wished that my labours should contribute to General Knowledge, so I made them accessible, that younger Students may stand on the shoulders of the present generation, and go on in steady advance, instead of going over ground already explored.

In 1880 I went down to Mickleham to visit the grave of my eldest son, Peregrine Bertie, who died nine years ago. I had been much interested in the "Geography of the Ancients," and wrote a review of Bunbury's Book for the *Calcutta Review*. I made a three weeks' tour in Switzerland with my wife, and enjoyed it very much. We settled at Eastbourne in August. We received an invitation from my cousins Earl and Countess Brownlow to Ashridge Park, to meet our Italian acquaintances the Duke and Duchess of Sermonéta, then Prince and Princess of Teáno. I started in October with my wife on a delightful

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 483.

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tour in Spain and Portugal: we traversed the whole Peninsula at leisure, visiting each city of note. I met friendly Scholars both at Madrid and Lisbon. I visited the shrines of Lourdes and Zaragossa. We returned home November 14, and I settled down to work. I used occasionally to send Reviews of Books to the *Athenæum*, such as Buddha Gáya, by Raja Rajendra Lall Mitrá, and Brian Hodgson's Essays. I contributed to *Mission-Life* a paper on the shrines of Lourdes and Zaragossa, and another on the Relation of Missions to the Civil Power.

1881.

I published in 1881 a small book called "Sketches of Anglo-Indian Life": a portion is a reprint of papers written and printed in India; the remainder is new matter: it was favourably received, and sold well. I visited Hatley in May. This year I was fully occupied in writing and printing my great work on the Languages of Africa. I attended my Committees as usual. We went to Eastbourne for a short time. I read a paper at the Society of Arts on the Languages of Africa, and joined the Hellenic Society. I sent to the *Calcutta Review* a paper on the Languages of Africa. I wrote a paper in German on the same subject, and it was read in a Section of the Fifth International Oriental Congress at Berlin, by my lamented friend Dr. Reinhold Rost. Here I saw for the last time my honoured friend Professor Lepsius, the celebrated Egyptologist. I had been with him at the Pyramids in Egypt, 1843, and heard first of Egyptian Hieroglyphics just fifty-six years ago. How fortunate I was, for shortly afterwards I met Colonel Rawlinson, and heard from his lips about Cuneiform; a few months later I heard at Banáras from Colonel Kittoe about the Inscriptions of Asóka. But for these lucky chances I might have lived on without any thought of these wonderful subjects, which have been the great interest of my life. I attended the

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 274.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 265.
"The Shrines," 1892.
"Gospel-Message," pp. 233, 247.

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Berlin-Congress with my wife, and was deeply interested. It so happened, that the International Geographical Congress was held at Venice the following week, and we had to travel with the greatest speed so as to be present at the latter, which was opened by Humbert, King of Italy, in person. I was Delegate to both Congresses, and Reporter to English Periodicals. I exhibited my Language-Map of Africa, drafted by Herr Ravenstein, and printed by Stanford, which was an entire novelty, and received a bronze medal. I wrote an account of both Congresses for the *Calcutta Review*. It was really a most fortunate coincidence to be able to take part in such illustrious gatherings. My acquaintance with Scholars increased enormously, and new vistas of interest were opened. I met here Signor Campello, who told me of the great Protestant movement in Rome. During our stay in Venice my wife was imprudent enough to take a dip into the waters of the Lido, in the company of Burton and Cameron, the two great African travellers, while I and Lady Burton looked on from the Verandah. A severe fever was the result, and we were detained some days at Venice and Milan, until she had recovered.

We then proceeded to Brindisi and took steamer to Athens, and had a most delightful time, climbing up to the top of Pentélicus, and driving over to Eleusis. I was invited to attend service in the Missionary Chapel by the Minister, Kalúpathákes, and at his request I addressed the congregation in the English language, which he interpreted, sentence by sentence, into Greek, the modern dialect. I wrote several miscellaneous papers for periodicals this year, but my steady work was at the Languages of Africa. Among Societies I attended the India Vernacular Education (now called Christian Literature Society), which seemed to me of importance. I attended Monthly Petty Sessions at Westminster and Kensington, and Quarterly County-Days at Clerkenwell, Monthly Prison

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 154.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 323.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 410.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 432.

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Committees, and Lunatic Asylum Committees, Weekly Guardians Board, Yearly Licensing Committee, Monthly Hospital Committee at Vincent Square; also Committees of Church Missionary Society, Bible-Society, Christian Knowledge-Society, and Propagation of the Gospel-Society, National School-Committee of St. James the Less, Pimlico, Asiatic, Geographical, Philological, Biblical Archæology Societies: there was an amazing amount of honest work to be done, and I was delighted to be able to do it. A polyglot correspondence had sprung up with scholars, some personally unknown, in different parts of the world, in the English, French, German, and Italian, Languages, and I was constantly on the platform to give addresses.

1882.

In 1882 I began to feel the effects of too great a strain on my nerves. A curious additional duty was placed on me: I was asked to attend every week at St. George's Barracks, Charing Cross, in my capacity of Justice of the Peace, to attest the admission of recruits into the Army. We went to Eastbourne in August for a short time, and then started on a great tour across the Mediterranean from Marseilles to Algeria and Tunisia, and worked our way home by Sicily, which we fully explored, thence to Italy: six and a half weeks were well employed. My wish was to examine on the spot the French Colonial System of Administration of Conquered Provinces. I traversed the whole Colony of Algeria from the frontiers of Morocco on the East to Constantine and the Tunisian frontier on the West, and penetrated as far South as Biskra and beyond to the Sahára, visiting the Oasis of Sidi Okba. From Tunis I visited the ruins of Carthage. At Bone, in Algeria, I stood upon the grave of Augustine of Hippo. I wrote an account for the *Calcutta Review*, called "The French North African Empire."

On my return I gave addresses on Athens at the Royal Society of Literature, and at other places. I read a paper at the Royal Asiatic Society on African Scholars, and at the Royal Naval and Military Institute

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 362.

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on "The French North African Empire." I published an Italian Translation of my "Languages and Religions of India." My services were in constant requisition now at Missionary Meetings, but Africa was on my brain, its people, Languages, and Religious Conceptions. I wrote a paper on the position of the Romish Church in Algeria. I had visited all their Institutions, and had an interview with Cardinal Lavigerie at Algiers, and implored him to put a stop to the unholy war now commencing in U-Ganda, in the centre of Africa, betwixt the French Missions of the Church of Rome and the English Missions of the Church of England. The Cardinal agreed with me in principle, that it was a disgrace, but the state of affairs went on, until years afterwards I was enabled to bring about the appointment of an English Romish Bishop, and the limitation of Dioceses, when all contention about things of this World ceased. I sent a paper to *Mission-Life* on the work of Count Campello in Italy.

What encouraged me most was the appearance of sympathetic notices of my writings in French, Italian, and German Periodicals. I quote a few:

"Ce n'est pas une simple mention, mais une analyse étendue, que "je voudrais pouvoir accorder au nouveau recueil d'Essais de Monsieur "Cust ["Pictures of Indian Life"; London, 1881]. L'Auteur y deplois "les mêmes qualités de fine observation, de vive et subtile fantaisie, de "sympathie genereuse, surtout pour les peuples de l'Inde, que je signalais "l'année dernière dans la précédente série.

"Plusieurs de ces morceaux, l'histoire d'Alexandre, celles de Rama, "de St. Paul, d'Asoka, de Nanak, le fondateur de la Religion des Sikhs, "ont été écrits directment en vue de publique indigène, et ont été traduits "dans plusieurs langues de l'Inde. Ce sont des modèles de littérature "populaire. D'Autres, tels que les articles sur les Religions de l'Inde, sur "la nation Hindoue, sur la Caste (une des choses les plus sensées qu'on "ait écrites sur la matière), ont pour objet de combattre des préjugés

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 362.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 528.

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" et des preventions du publique d'Europe, du publique Anglais surtout, " et de lui faire aimer l'Inde et son peuple comme l'auteur les aime." (" Revue des Religions " : Bulletin de Religions de l'Inde, année III, vol. v, p. 248 ; Monsieur Barth.)

Again :

" Un horizon plus vaste encore se découvre à nos regards dans les " Essais, 1880, de Monsieur Cust, qui non seulement nous fait " parcourir L'Inde Ancienne et Moderne, mais nous conduissait jusqu'en " Égypte et en Mesopotamie. Ici nous n'avons plus d'affaire avec un " chercheur, qui ouvre à la Science des voies nouvelles, mais au plus " expérimente et plus aimable de vulgarisateurs. Monsieur Cust connait " l'Inde pour y avoir long temps veçu, et beaucoup travaille, et il aime " avec passion, en raison peut-être du bien, qu'il a eu l'occasion d'y faire. " Il y a une chaleur communicative dans ces pages largement assaisonnée " d'humeur, qui ont parfois la saveur d'une autobiographie. A notre " point de vue nous relevons surtout les Essais relatifs au pays des " Sikhs, au Ramáyana, et aux Religions de l'Inde en général. Ce " dernier mémoire, renferme beaucoup de vues fines et justes, a aussi " paru, réuni à une autre sur les Langues de l'Inde sous une forme " française dans la jolie collection Oriental Elzevérienne de Monsieur " Ernest Leroux." (" Revue des Religions " : Bulletin de Religions de l'Inde, année II, vol. iii, pp. 94, 95.)

Again :

" Notre savant et zélé confrère de la Société Asiatique de London, " Monsieur Robert Cust, a bien voulu nous donner en français ses vues " d'ensemble sur la religion et les langues de l'Inde. La rare connaissance, " que posséde Monsieur Cust de l'Inde actuelle, la profonde étude, qu'il a fait " de la vielle Inde, et par dessus tout la calme impartialité de ses jugements, " donnent une grand valeur aux idées, qu'il s'est formées, et qui demandent " à être serieusement méditées. La situation religieuse de l'Inde est très " critique. Les dechirements religieux les plus graves que réserve l'avenir, " auraient peut-être lieu dans ce pays." (" Revue des Religions " : Bulletin de Religions de l'Inde," année II, vol. ii, p. 251.)

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Count Angelo di Gubernatis of Rome was kind enough to include my name in his volume "Dizionario Biographico," and wrote as follows with reference to my paper on the Inscriptions of Asóka in the *Nuova Anthologia*:

"Dobbiamo questo scritto importante alla penna di un dotto "inglese, già noto ai lettori delle Rassegne delle letterature straniere, "il quale, maneggiando con facilità la nostra lingua, scrisse in essa "appostatamente per la *Nuova Anthologia* l'articolo, che siamo lieti di "pubblicare.—*La Direzione.*"

1883.

My *magnum opus* on the Languages of Africa was completed in two volumes, and given to the public. I had spared no expense. The Linguistic Maps, exhibited at the Venice Geographical Congress, had been prepared by my friend Herr Ravenstein, the celebrated Geographer, and printed on stone by the well-known Cartographers, Messrs. Stanford of Charing Cross. Herr Ravenstein and I worked on the following principle. I would not allow on my list of Languages any name, for which he could not find a Geographical location, nor would he allow on his Map any name, for which he had not from me sure specific linguistic information: in this way many duplicate names of the same Language came to light, and inaccurate entries in former lists disappeared, perhaps not entirely, and, when the time comes, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, for a second edition, a more correct list will be formed. No doubt many more names will disappear, and many new names will appear. I have looked to the right and left for someone to be my successor, as Mr. Grierson is in India, but I find plenty, who know the Languages of the East, or West, or South, or North portion of the great Continent much more intimately than I could possibly, but no one, who has turned his attention to the whole. I heard from Paris that my book was considered to be "un œuvre de la première ordre." I sent off one hundred Presentation-Copies, and received most gratifying replies: I was more than rewarded.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 115.

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A great deal of miscellaneous work had been shunted, which now came to the fore. One subject deserves notice. I had joined the Anti-Slavery Society, and to my surprise I found, that the Protestant Missionaries in Madagascar all employed slave-labour in their families: the two chief offenders were the Society of Friends, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Missionaries of the latter applied to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for a grant to enable them to erect a College, and in the specification of the scheme was noted "an apartment for each Student, and a room for his slave." I took up the subject, and denounced it. My dear friend, Sir Bartle Frere, who was present, supported me, and said that some day the Society would thank me. Strange to say, dignitaries of the Church supported this scheme. Later on I denounced it at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and wrote a paper on the subject in *Mission-Life*. The Missionary of the Church of Rome unblushingly purchased slaves, as I proved by quotations from the *Missions Catholiques*, a Romish Missionary Monthly Periodical. Supplies of boys and girls were made to the Missions by the Slave-Dealers: as these children had been stolen from other tribes, their relations on one occasion attacked a Mission on Lake Tanganyika, slew the Missionaries and recaptured their children. These things will scarcely be believed a few years hence.

I was this year elected a Member of the newly constituted Diocesan Conference of London, and we met in the Hall of King's College, London. My son took his degree of B.A. at Oxford this year. He had, for reasons quite independent of himself, at my request, migrated from Trinity College, Cambridge, to Magdalen College, Oxford, and I had now the pleasure of seeing the Degree conferred, and his education completed, at the age of 22. We moved to Eastbourne. I went down to Belton to visit my eldest brother Henry, who was very ill. I paid a second visit later on, and he was slightly better.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 369.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 211.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 27.

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I read a paper in March at the Royal Society of Literature, Whitehall, on "A Visit to North Africa, Carthage, and Syracuse," and a second in December on "A Visit to the Black and Caspian Seas." I attended the Oriental Congress at Leyden, in Holland, and read a paper on the "Origin of the Indian Alphabet." The subject was discussed by the Section for two whole days, and aroused great interest. I made many valuable acquaintances during this Congress, and friendships with men whom I was proud to know. After the Congress I visited the Black and Caspian Seas and the Russian Province of the Caucasus, and Trans-Caucasus. I was greatly interested in the Petroleum-wells of Baku. I brought a photograph home of the fountains of Petroleum rising out of a newly opened well to an enormous height: it was published in *The Graphic* of 1883. I made my second visit to Constantinople, and returned home by Odessa and the Danube.

At Baku a curious incident happened. I started with my wife to visit the Naphtha-wells. The landlord of the hotel gave the driver of the vehicle, who only spoke Turkish, instructions to take us there, but on our arrival we were unable to find anyone, who could explain anything to us. I was in despair, when I saw a respectable Armenian approaching us. I addressed him in French, German, Italian: I would not insult him by speaking English, or any of my Indian Languages. He shook his head, and then addressed me in Armenian, Russian, Turkish, and Caucasian. I shook my head, and we looked at each other in despair. Suddenly, to my surprise, I heard the words flow from his lips, "Magar farsi mi danid?" ("Perhaps you know Persian?"). I flew at him at once with a reply, that I had known it for forty years. He then explained everything, and took us into his office and gave us some tea. It was singular out of nine languages to find only one mutually intelligible.

In the course of this tour I visited the far-famed Sebastopol, went over the fields of battle, the fortifications, and the cemeteries, accompanied by the Consul and Miss Cathcart, daughter of General Cathcart. I drove over to the Alma, went over the field of battle, and visited the grave of

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my cousin, Horace Cust, who was killed there. The tomb required repair, and the Consul arranged it for me. I reached Sebastopol at a most interesting time, for the British Government, at the friendly suggestion of the Russian Government, was closing all the scattered Cemeteries, where the British soldiers were buried, and collecting them into one great Cemetery, as the French had already done, and the Russian Government undertook the charge of it. There was not much of the poor dead to move after lying thirty years in the soil without coffins; but all the monuments were collected. Strange to say, in the fields under which the British soldier lies, tobacco grows in abundance. I wrote a letter on the subject to *The Times*.

1884.

My eldest brother Henry, the friend of my life from Schoolboy days, died after a lingering illness on April 5. I had visited him in his sickroom a short time before, but he was barely conscious. His loss to me was irreparable. He was only 64 years of age, and, writing as I do at the age of 78 years, the wonder to me is that one was taken, and the less useful one left. He was buried in the Family-Vault at Cockayne Hatley, by the side of our Parents, our two sisters, his own wife, and my little daughter. I was not equal to the excitement of the funeral, but I went down a few days later, knelt by the side of his grave, and heard all the details. An aged aunt, the last survivor of the elder generation, the Hon. Mrs. William Cust, died at the age of 94. I became by my brother's death the eldest male member of my Father's Family. I had, however, no less than three Aunts of my Mother's side alive, who lived to the age of 98, 93, 89, and one, Lady Mabella Knox, who is still living at the age of 98, as her age goes with the Century. It appears that I belong to two very long-lived families, who preserved their faculties and bodily strength to the very last, as my father's mother lived to the age of 91.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 219.

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I attended the funeral of my dear and honoured friend, Sir Bartle Frere, in St. Paul's Cathedral: he, like my great Master, Lord Lawrence, was not permitted to reach seventy years. Some of us had approached the Dean of Westminster to beg for a place for him in the Abbey, but he regretted, that it was not in his power to grant the request.

About this time I attended a great Meeting in a Hall near Ludgate Circus, in support of what was known as the Ilbert-Bill, an attempt to introduce into British India an equality in the Courts of Justice betwixt the Native population and the alien English Settlers. I spoke up for it, standing between the two sons of my two Indian friends, John Lord Lawrence, and Sir Henry Lawrence. I wrote to the Viceroy, the Marquess of Ripon, to tell him how entirely I agreed with his policy.

I started with my wife on June 11 on a trip to the Midnight-Sun at the North Cape: we returned on July 13: it was a delightful trip. We left Hull for Christiania in Norway, and travelled by land to Tróndheim, where all traces of darkness at night had disappeared. We embarked on our North Cape-steamer, and the difficulty was in one continuous broad daylight to get the necessary rest for the refreshment of the body, for young men and maidens seemed to occupy the deck at night, and "there was no night there." Our food consisted chiefly of ale, and salmon, which latter came fresh from the sea. There was a mixed multitude on board. We touched at Bodu and Hammerfest. The sun never set now, or just took a dip into the sea, and reappeared in a short time. We touched and landed at the interesting Island of Torghatten. Of course we saw Lapps and Reindeers to any extent. At length we reached the North Cape, and on Midsummer-Day we climbed at midnight to the Column at the highest point. Here we were photographed, and I brought away a copy to hang on my walls, as it seemed to record an impossibility made possible, a Sun-Photograph taken in the open air at midnight.

I was in high spirits, as I landed on my return from Norway at Hull. We took a room at a Hotel, and were at lunch with fellow-voyagers, when I was seized with a fit of Asthma, which seemed to threaten my life. A medical man was called in; however, he could not help me, but only

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watch me. At length it passed away, and I was well again. I have had three similar attacks in subsequent years. I seemed to know during the agony what Death was.

My literary work during the year was heavy. I read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the Journal of the Society, an elaborate paper on "The Origin of the Indian Alphabet." I gave two lectures at the Royal Naval and Military Institute, Whitehall. The first was on "The Russians on the Caspian and Black Seas," the result of my late visit to those Regions. At that time the Railway from the Caspian to Merv had not been laid down. I published a paper on the subject in the *Calcutta Review*, and at a subsequent date I published a paper on the Languages spoken in the Caucasus-Region.[1] The second lecture was on the African Sahára, and the route from Biskra to Timbuktu on the Niger River. Colonel Flatters had lately perished in an attempt to cross. While I was at Biskra I hired a light vehicle and drove across the desert to the Oasis of Sidi Okba. As we left the cultivated Regions, we had the feeling of being in a ship going out to sea. At length we reached the Oasis, covered with date-palms. We ascended a Mosque, and our guide, raising his hand to the South, pointed out the direction, in which Timbuktu lay. No one had ever traversed this desert-route, and there are no habitations of men between the two extreme points. The Sahára is by no means a level plain, and it has been ascertained, that there is a supply of water deep below the soil, but which can be reached by the boring of Artesian wells: so there may possibly be a future for this Region.

I wrote a paper for the *Calcutta Review* on "The great Cities of Athens, Rome, Carthage, and Syracuse," the result of late visits. I sent another paper in justification of the Government of India in the matter of the Opium-Trade, and Opium-Monopoly. It is one of the curious phenomena of modern times, that good and benevolent persons should

[1] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 182.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 211.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 3.

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take up subjects, which they do not understand, and denounce a Government, whose sole desire is to benefit the people under its charge. There was a third paper on the International Oriental Congresses at Berlin and Leyden. All these papers were reprinted in my collective volumes, and are referred to at the bottom of the page, so I need say no further here. I contributed papers to a periodical called *Africa*, long since extinct, to the Monthly Periodical of the Church Missionary Society, and to the weekly *Athenæum*. I published at Paris a French Translation of my Essay on the Languages of Africa, and at Corfu a modern Greek, *alias* Romaic, Translation of my Essay on the Languages and Religions of India.

I delivered numerous addresses at Public Meetings in the interest of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, Church Missionary Society, and the Zanána Societies. At the Royal Society of Literature I gave Lectures on a Tour in Spain, and a Trip to the Midnight-Sun. I had a hard year of reading, as I had been collecting material for an Essay on the Languages of Oceania, which duly appeared, and the Languages of America, which I have never found time to complete. The study of the Religions of the World crushed out the study of the Languages for many years.

Another great subject forced itself on my notice, the compilation of the Oxford University-Dictionary of the English Language. My friendship with the Editor, Dr. James Murray, and the interest of the subject, induced me to co-operate as far as I had leisure. I find that it is duly recorded, that I read for the purpose of the Dictionary the following books: Bunyan's "Holy War," Hakluyt's "Voyages," and Heber's Poems. These books were on the list suggested by the Editor for reading, and I find that the number of quotations supplied by me amounted to six hundred. By a fortunate chance the *first* use of two words is credited to me, and supported by quotations from my

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 464.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 143.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 410.

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written works only, viz., 'Albocracy' and 'Alfur.' It has been my practice ever since to send to the Editor a memorandum on any new word, which came under my notice in my reading.

Another species of duty came of itself to me; at least, I never sought it. In the Seven Dials, in London, there is a Chapel, not consecrated, but licensed by the Bishop, and served by a Missionary of the Diocesan Home-Mission. I was asked to take his place during his occasional holidays, and enjoyed the privilege of conducting the services, and preaching to an attentive audience.

Another duty, and a sadly interesting one, was to attend the Visiting Committee of the Female Penitentiary and Millbank Prison, as a Justice of the Peace. How grateful I ought to be that year by year new modes of usefulness were opened out to me within the limits of my powers.

One other subject of intense interest occupied my thoughts, the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society. We had had a few years back a grand meeting in Guildhall, with the Prince of Wales in the chair; and this year Cardinal Lavigerie, the Champion of the Movement in France, came over to London, and we had a remarkable meeting; the late Earl Granville was in the chair. I had met the Cardinal before in Algeria, as recorded above. The Meeting was an impressive one.

This was my last Christmas in my house No. 64, St. George's Square, S.W., into which I had moved in 1868, and had spent sixteen years. The lease was coming to an end, and a move on other grounds was desirable. I felt that I was indeed not the same person, who with feelings of despondency, and almost of hopelessness, had entered this house, and now had a career marked out, useful, happy, and blessed, "in among the ranks of men, men my brothers, fellow-workers, foremost in the ranks of time," and with new vistas always opening out. May the Lord guide me! I thought then, and after the lapse of nearly another fourteen years can say with humble gratitude, that He has done so in my new dwelling. It is not Success, for that is an incident, but Service, Self-sacrificing Service, that He calls for, and we all can render it to the extent of the talents, which He has lent to us for that purpose.

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1885.

On January 12, accompanied by my wife, I started on a tour in Egypt up to Phylœ, in Palestine to the Dead Sea, and in Syria to Damascus. This was my eleventh visit to Egypt and second to Palestine. John Cook, of Ludgate Circus, arranged it all for me. I paid in my money, and had everything provided for the whole tour, which ended on March 8 most satisfactorily. It was a period of great interest. Lord Wolseley's army was working its way up the Nile, and had passed the first Cataract a few days in advance of us, but we had on board 'voyageurs' from Canada, and others, who had to work their way up after the main force. Among the casual travellers was Prince Louis Napoleon, son of old Plon-plon, by the daughter of the King of Italy, of whom we saw a great deal, and very pleasant he was, and we met again at Damascus. My object in visiting Egypt was to make a survey of it from the point of view of an old Anglo-Indian Employé. In India we always before annexation of a Province inquire, whether a Province will pay its expenses, and add to the wealth of the Empire. If it will not, it is better to leave it under a Native Chieftain. Now the question was, whether Egypt would pay. I had letters of recommendation from the Foreign Office to Lord Cromer, then Sir Evelyn Baring, and through him I got access to Nuba Pasha, and the heads of all the State-Departments, and made just such an inspection, as I had often made of a Province in India, and drew up such a Report as I should have prepared for John Lawrence, and I published it in the *Calcutta Review*. I formed an opinion, that we had done good service to Egypt, but that it never would pay its expenses, and that we should take the earliest opportunity to back out, placing the Province under the guarantee of the Great Powers under its Native Ruler, very much as we leave the Kingdoms of Greece and Belgium.

We had a delightful time, and visited all that had to be visited. One day we saw a notice stuck up on a tree at Assouan: "Battle

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 281.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 304.

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fought at Abu Klea: Stewart killed." Another day we read the brief telegram: "Khartoum fallen: Gordon killed." At Cairo we saw in the Hotel the guests going to a great Fancy-Ball, in spite of the sad telegram over the Hall-chimneypiece, because it was not thought wise to evince too much regret at the failure of our policy. I must say that I hoped at the time, and hope still, that we shall clear out before some terrible disaster drives us out, for we have no interest, political or commercial, in Egypt, opposed to that of the rest of Europe. I remember the double invasion of Afghanistan. We then took steamer from Port Said to Jaffa, and accompanied a Cook's party steadily through Palestine and Syria, and very pleasant and instructive it was. From Damascus we left the party, and came across Lebanon to Beirut by the Public Conveyance. I published an account of this tour in the *Calcutta Review*. It was my second visit, as twenty-three years ago I had made a similar tour quite by myself, and published an account in the same Review. I had an opportunity of addressing the Native Christians at Jerusalem in English, my words being interpreted into Arabic, and at Beirut I was privileged to address in English the students of the American Presbyterian School. We got home safely, having traversed 8,000 miles at an expense of £350.

On my return to London I was asked to address the supporters of the London-Jews-Society at their Annual Meeting in Exeter-Hall, and joined that Society as a Member of the Committee. By a singular coincidence, on the evening of the same day I had to address the supporters of the Religious Tract Society in Exeter-Hall. These were the only two occasions, on which I made a speech in Exeter-Hall.

I published this year a small volume on the Roman Catholic Shrines in Europe. I had visited them all, purchasing descriptive books on the spot in the language spoken by the people, such as pilgrims purchased to inform themselves: Lourdes in France, the Sacred Stairs and Sudario of Veronica at Rome, and Loretto in Italy, Nazareth and St. Ann at

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series I, p. 252.

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Jerusalem in Palestine, Einsiedeln in Switzerland, Monte Serrato and Zaragossa in Spain, the Shroud of Joseph of Arimathea at Turin, the Holy Coat at Treves.

I desired to expose to ridicule the wicked folly of such really Pagan survivals. I published an Italian translation of my Essay on the Languages of Africa at Milan. I was constantly called upon to make speeches, or give addresses. I gave a lecture at the Islington-Training-College of the Church Missionary Society. Committee-work was now very heavy indeed, and my correspondence with many parts of the world in several languages increased beyond belief.

I began now to look critically at the mode in which the work of Missionary Societies was conducted, and at the request of a dear friend, Dr. Thompson, of Boston, Mass., U.S., I drew up a paper of "Reflections and Suggestions about Missions," for the Jubilee Meeting of the American Board of Foreign Missions. I had been asked to attend in person, but it was impossible; I was too busy at home. I also spoke out in a Pamphlet on a subject which greatly interested me, "The Work of Women in Missions," and of the "Female Evangelist" in particular. I used occasionally to write Reviews of New Books.

On the occasion of my moving from my old home, No. 64, St. George's Square, to my new one, No. 63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W., I gave away a large number of books, which had done their work for me, and which might possibly do good work for some others. Of course the Royal Asiatic Society was the chief recipient.

On September 8 I went up to Aberdeen to attend a Meeting of the British Association, and I read a paper on the Progress of African Philology since the Meeting at Oxford in 1847, when Dr. Latham read a paper on the same subject. I joined a party to accept the invitation of Her Majesty to lunch at Balmoral Castle. Carriages came to meet us: we had lunch in the great Hall, and an opportunity of making our bow to Her Majesty, who came to look at us from a gallery.

"Gospel-Message," p. 96.

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I made this year a kind of pious pilgrimage to Windsor, and went over the house in the Cloisters, so long occupied by my dear Father, and the spot where he died. The surroundings are much altered.

I had to change my Board of Guardians from St. George's, Hanover Square, to Chelsea, and to join the Kensington Board of Magistrates, because I had changed my residence. It so happened, that a Parliamentary Election took place, before I had accomplished one year's residence in my new home, and I was unable to vote for my actual residence in Chelsea, but was still entitled to vote for the old house in Westminster, which I had abandoned.

1886.

My first New Year in my new residence, which I am glad to call my home to this day. I wrote for *The Record* Newspaper a review of the life of Sir Herbert Edwardes, published by his widow. I knew him from his bright youth in 1845, and watched his career. When he was Commissioner of Ambála he was my subordinate, as I held the offices of the chief Judicial and Revenue authority in the Province successively. I deplored his early death before he reached fifty years. (See p. 122.)

I had to read up for my Essay on the Languages of Oceania, and I read a paper at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Turki Family of Agglutinative Languages. I had another Book on hand: "Language illustrated by Bible-Translation." I sent a paper to the *Calcutta Review* on "Races, Languages, and Religions of India, as illustrated in the Census of 1881."

I wrote a paper in *The Churchman* on "Polygamy in the Christian Church," laying down the principle, that any person who had, according to the laws of his country and tribe, united himself in marriage with two or more women, was disqualified for Baptism until all but one of his legally united wives had died. Unless this law was enforced,

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 52.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 45.

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Polygamy was certain to creep into the Native Churches, and the idea of letting the man make his choice, and turning the other wives out into a life of profligacy, and sin, was hateful. They, poor women, had had little choice in the matter, and in their childhood, or youth, had been married to the man, and the rights of them and their children must be maintained: they could be baptized, but their husband must suffer the consequence of his own conduct.

I went to Edinburgh in April, and received the honour of a Degree in Law at the hands of Lord Inglis, who presided. I felt much pleased to think, that the only honour, which fell to my lot, was one of a literary character, and unsolicited.

A new and unexpected field of employment was suddenly opened out to me. The great political leader, whom I had followed from Eton days with admiration, and whose administration, contrary to the political traditions of my family, I had supported, William Ewart Gladstone, suddenly left the landmarks of his own policy, and proposed a measure of Home-Rule for Ireland. I was exceedingly interested in Ireland, had traversed every part of it, and deplored its shameful misgovernment by England in the previous century; but I felt instinctively, that this was a fatal measure, and to be opposed. I joined the Liberal-Unionist Party, and took part in the Meetings in Chelsea, to which District I belonged, and contributed to the expulsion from his seat in Parliament of my honoured friend Sir Charles Dilke. Later on, in July, I was summoned to speak on the Platform at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, which for centuries had been represented by my ancestors or contemporaries in seven generations of men. My brother Henry had been the last of this succession, a Conservative, and he had been turned out in the last Election by a very dear friend of mine, Mr. John Mellor, a Liberal, who joined Mr. Gladstone's new policy, and had, at all costs, to be turned out of Grantham: and we succeeded. I feel grateful for having been permitted to speak on a platform so often occupied by my ancestors; and I venture to quote my Speech:

"Gospel-Message," 1896, p. 263.

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"Mr. Chairman, I ask you to listen to me as a Liberal-Unionist. It is real cowardice of anyone at this moment not to declare his colours and speak distinctly. As a Liberal-Unionist, I sincerely ask you to vote for Mr. Low. Though unknown to many persons, I am not a stranger to Grantham. More than fifty years have elapsed since I was here first, at the time of the passing of the first Reform Bill; and my ancestors have represented this borough many times during the last two hundred years. My lamented brother was your last Conservative Member. I differed from him in politics, but we were united as Unionists, as Englishmen, and as patriots. I speak in his name as well as my own, asking you to vote for Mr. Low: and I would recall to you something with regard to this borough of Grantham. It is not one of your Brummagem new boroughs: it is an old borough, which has sent representatives to Parliament for more than three hundred years. It has sent honest, stout, and strong men, sometimes Whigs and sometimes Tories; but they always knew their own mind, and they did not say one thing in October, or November, and act differently in June, blowing hot and cold, and showing white and black. They were true to their principles, whatever they were. It is of extreme importance, that you should remember this. Don't disgrace your ancient borough by altering the character of the men whom you send. Your representatives voted for the Union with Ireland eighty-six years ago: they did so, whatever they were, Whigs or Tories, they voted for that Union, which has brought blessings to England and to Ireland. A hundred years before, your representative voted for the Union with Scotland, from which we may date all our prosperity, and strength, and greatness, when the British Isles were united, and went forth to be the greatest Imperial Unity in the World. And would you be recreant, and undo all this great work, and send men to Westminster to undo the work of your forefathers? If we go back a century earlier, there was a Member for Lincolnshire, who, when Oliver Cromwell tried to dictate to him, as Mr. Gladstone tries to dictate to his members now, refused to do his bidding, and the military, under Colonel Pride, were sent to turn him out of the House, and to lock the door upon him. Forty years later, there was a Member for Lincolnshire, who got together Lincolnshire men and Grantham men, and rode down to Devonshire to welcome William of Orange. I am proud that I bear the name of those strong men; and I recommend you to act as they did, and be firm and strong. Send men to Parliament, who will stick to their colours. Mr. Low has assured us, that he will resist any disruption of the Union to the last. Lord Salisbury has told you distinctly, that he will never be the Minister to carry it out; and if, in inconceivable circumstances, the Conservatives be so base as to do so, Mr. Low would stand out from them, as I am standing out from Mr. Gladstone. I have honoured and followed Mr. Gladstone for more than forty years, and it is with sorrow and indignation on my part that he leaves me now. I don't leave him. I stand with Hartington, and Goschen, and Chamberlain, and Bright,

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and Argyll, and Selborne, and all true Liberals; but what Mr. Gladstone is proposing is not a true policy: it is a false policy, a false truckling to a party, that would bring ruin to England. With regard to your sitting Member, Mr. Mellor, he is my valued friend; and when he turned out my brother I rejoiced, because I valued party before kinship. But there is something which I value more than party and more than kinship: it is the union of England, the greatness of England. There is only one thing worse than a squeezable Conservative, and that is a limp Liberal: and your sitting Member is one of the limp sort. I believe that in his convictions he is opposed to this Bill, but he is afraid to stand out with the many strong Liberals that have done so. Now, upon the policy before the country I will not go into details; but I would urge you to remember this, that a separate Parliament means, in measurable time, a separate kingdom; that a separate kingdom means, in measurable time, an Irish Republic; and that an Irish Republic means a hostile enemy at our door and the destruction of this Empire, and we shall be obliged at last to reconquer Ireland by force of arms and an immense expenditure of lives and treasure. May the stream, while it is small, before it gets too strong, be controlled! Turn out your sitting Member, and send Mr. Low in. I hope that there will be a strong Conservative Government for the next five or six years; and after that time parties may again resume their old positions. Now, gentlemen, let me end with a warning and an illustration. Home Rule in Ireland will not end with Home Rule in Ireland. It will lead to Home Rule in India. Mr. Low and I are well acquainted with that country; and already, in different cities of India, is going up the cry, 'Why should we not have Home Rule? If a small country like Ireland may have Home Rule, why should not India have it?' And the greatness of England will pass away, and we shall fall into the position of Spain and Greece, and some of those exhausted countries, and we shall have our own folly to thank for it. View it from an English point as well as from an Irish point. Think of our duty to ourselves, to England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as to Ireland. Let Ireland have everything that we have. As a Liberal, I say that we all ought to have more of self-government; but don't give Ireland the least bit more than you give the rest; don't allow her any more independence than you allow to Scotland."

I spent the night in the Home of my Ancestors at Belton, and as I went up the well-known stairs I felt glad, that I had been permitted to do something, of which they would have approved.

According to my custom I went down on St. Barnabas Day to Eton College for the Annual Festival of the Melanesian Mission, of which my

" Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 620.

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honoured friend Bishop John Selwyn was the head. We attended Service in the Chapel, and I sat in my own Family-Stall; we lunched in the College Hall, and then moved to the great Election Hall upstairs, where the Meeting was held. The Provost presided. After the Missionaries from the field had spoken, I was called on to address the Meeting, a duty which I had gladly accepted, as it is an ideal Mission, and most successful. I published in *The Churchman* an account of the excellent work done by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the translation and publication of books in the different Languages of the World. I am an active Member of the Translation-Committee.

In September, accompanied by my wife and daughter, I made a tour on the Continent to Vienna to attend the Seventh International Oriental Congress. Here my paper in German, "On our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Oceania," was read by my lamented friend Dr. Reinhold Rost, and I had to present to the Congress a selection of Translations of the Scriptures in different Languages. I made a short address, and Archduke Regnier, the Patron of the Congress, graciously accepted the offering. I pointed out that, though the work was done at the expense of the British Nation, yet the aid of the Scholars of Germany, Austria, Russia, and Holland was indispensable.

"Your Royal and Imperial Highness: In the name of the delegates "from England and British India, I rise to express the pleasure, which "we feel in finding ourselves in this beautiful and Imperial city, and in "the Hall of this celebrated University; and, in token of our homage, "I beg to present to the Congress printed Translations of one well-known "book (the Bible) in 104 languages, spoken by more than two hundred "millions of men in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, prepared at the "expense of the English people, but with the aid of Scholars from "Germany, Austria, Russia, and Holland."

At the closing Banquet of the Congress I was called upon to propose a toast, which I did as follows:

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 90.

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"I propose the toast of the prosperity of the renowned City of "Vienna, famous in History from the time of the Crusades, famous for "its Universities and Hospitals, famous for its learned men, and beautiful "women. We do not in the West of Europe forget, that three hundred "years ago Vienna was the bulwark and prop of Christendom and "Civilization against the Mahometans, and we doubt not that in this, "and the generations which are to come, it will again be the bulwark "against a more powerful and dangerous foe (the Emperor of Russia), "and the hearts of Englishmen will be with their ancient friends."

We attended the reception of the Archduke and Archduchess, and had a delightful time, seeing a great deal of our lamented friend Miss Amelia Edwards. I was the Reporter of *The Times* at this Congress, and wrote a full account for the *Calcutta Review*.

We made an extended tour to several cities in Germany and Switzerland. What interested me most was a visit to Herrenhut, the centre of the Moravian Brotherhood, and to Kornthal in Baden, which I described in a contribution to a Missionary Publication, to which I refer for details. I visited also the German Missionary Training Colleges at Basle and Barmen, and the Deaconesses' Institution at Kaiserwerth.

I was delighted to get back to my study by the end of October. In the first week of November a new kind of duty, recalling my Indian experiences, was forced on me. In London there were threatening riots, and preparation was made to send troops against them, and I was requested by the Home-Secretary to accompany the force as Magistrate, and read the Riot-Act. I was delighted at the idea, but nothing came of it: the trouble subsided. I prepared a paper on the Native Missionary Teachers in the Missions of Oceania, a most interesting and instructive

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 438.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, pp. 224, 225.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 451.
"Gospel-Message," pp. 15, 114.

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topic; also an address on "The Duty of the Youth of England," which I gave to the Undergraduates of Balliol College in the very hall, in which, forty-eight years previously, I had been examined in 1838 and 1839 for the Balliol Scholarship, one of the Examiners being Dr. Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The vision of those figures then around me came back vividly to my recollection, all dead, to the best of my knowledge, except Dean Bradley of Westminster, and my brother-in-law, Seton-Karr: both the latter came from Rugby School, and have been the friends of my life owing to this meeting sixty years ago.

1887.

On January 24 I dined, as Barrister, in Lincoln's Inn Hall, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales being our guest. I used in former years to enjoy these dinners, but I had grown tired of them, discontinued them, and then withdrew from the Inn altogether. In February I took part in the Simultaneous Meetings of the Church Missionary Society in different parts of the country: these were very pleasant trips, and I always took a daughter with me. The Languages of Oceania had attracted me, and I wrote one paper on the subject for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and another for the *Calcutta Review*.

I carried out a long existing wish to collect together my Poems, and Messrs. Longman published for me a small volume: "Poems of Many Years and Many Places." I put forth a little book: "How I spent my Summer Holidays in 1876." I wrote it, but it purported to be from the pen of my son, a boy at Eton, who accompanied me that year to the Oriental International Congress at St. Petersburg. Ingalton Drake of Eton published it for me, and I distributed many copies in Eton College. The same firm had published my first book, "Eton Addresses," in 1840.

This year I put up on the walls of the Church Mission House, Salisbury Square, London, a Tablet to the memory of our Missionaries, who had died in Africa, with the following Inscription:

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 518.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 795.

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"In Memoriam of Missionaries, who died in Africa.

The Names of the Dead, and the date of their death.

'Neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy.'—Acts, xx, 24.

Ex voto Roberti Cust, Servi Servorum, Anno Jubilei, M.D.CCC.LXXXVII."

I am this year (1899) erecting a second Tablet to record the names of those, who have died since that date.

In ancient days the preachers of the new Gospel fell victims to the intolerant fury of the Professors of the old Beliefs, or a dominant Sect of the believers in the new Belief. All is changed now, but the Faith of the Messengers is tested by the Climate of the country, into which they penetrate. These lives are not thrown away: they bear witness to the existence in an Imperial Race of a desire at all costs to communicate to their less fortunate fellow-creatures the benefit of Christian Civilization, and every Christian is bound to contribute to this great enterprise.

I paid a visit this year to my cousin, Lady Marion Alford, the friend of my life, at Belton, the old home of my Ancestors: to my great sorrow she died very soon afterwards, and left a great blank, which can never be filled. In one of her latest receptions in her beautiful house in London, I was introduced by her to the ex-Khedive of Egypt, Ismail, then an exile sojourning in London. We sat down to talk together, as he was informed, that I had just returned from a visit to Egypt, and not my first visit. Several of the other guests sat near listening to our conversation, which was in the French language, and related naturally to the Levant, Turkey, and Egypt, which I had so lately studied critically. At a certain part of the argument he suddenly changed his manner, and asked me in the Persian Language, "whether there was any hope for Egypt." He may have expected, that I should reply that, if he were recalled to power, there might be hope. I felt it my duty to say distinctly:

"Barai Misr hích uméd neest"

("For Egypt there is no hope at all"), and I think so still. The Kingdom of Turkey may fall into better hands, and a system of Rule be established

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analogous to that of Greece, or its Provinces may be absorbed into adjacent Kingdoms; but the position of Egypt, Geographically, Politically, and Ethnologically, is such, that it is impossible to anticipate any prosperous future for this wretched Province. It must be a curse and misfortune to any European Power, as it will surely prove to Great Britain, since it will never pay its way, and is totally indefensible in case of a European war.

I had the great pleasure this year of witnessing the performance of a Play of Euripides, the "Alcestis," by the Undergraduates at Oxford, in the Greek Language. It was indeed delightful, and I hoped then that it would not be the last. I have since attended performances of the "Iphigenia in Tauris" at Cambridge, and of "Alcestis" (a second time), and "Antigone" at Bradfield School, and "Iphigenia in Aulis" in London, and never lose an opportunity of being present on such occasions to hear the lofty sentiments, and beautiful words, of the Athenian Dramatists done honour to after the lapse of two thousand years. I should like to listen to the Book of Job being treated in the same manner in Hebrew, or in English, and it would be very impressive.

I ventured this year on the publication of a Second Series of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," written in past years, and put forth in different Periodicals in India and England. Certain subjects had been handled after close investigation, and being in a short compass, and entirely independent, may be of interest and possible use to Students of the next generation; and the operation gave me infinite pleasure.

Another event marked the progress of the foot of time this year: my eldest daughter gave birth to a little daughter, my first, and up to this date my only, grandchild. I met a contemporary, who had twenty-four grandchildren in his old age: 'one only' may be a little below what one could wish, but to go to the other extreme is a real misfortune. I attended this year the Annual Dinner of the students at the old East India College at Haileybury, and had to make a speech. Of all things that I abominate

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 619.

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the chief is post-prandial oratory, nor do I take much pleasure in such gatherings. The number of guests is diminishing annually, and as the College has been closed for forty years, the day must be at hand when the custom will cease.

On June 21 was celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of Her Majesty, whose accession to the Throne seems to me like an event which happened last month, or last year. We Eton-Boys knew by sight the little Princess, when she visited Windsor in the reign of her uncle William IV, and her Proclamation on the bridge over the Thames leading to Windsor was attended by us all. As the Queen went in state to the Abbey, I secured seats for my wife and daughter in the Sessions House, Westminster, which commanded a good view of the procession. I had no desire to go into the Abbey, in which I had seen the Queen crowned just forty-nine years ago, so I retired to the Travellers' Club, Pall Mall. The only other person present was the old Duke of Cleveland, long since dead. We sat at the open window, and saw the procession pass before us. It was a memorable sight. At the head of the cortége rode three heirs of great Empires: Prince Edward of Wales, heir to the Throne of England; Rudolph, the Prince Imperial of Austria; and Frederick, the Prince Imperial of Germany: all were within their graves within a few short years.

> "Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
> Regumque turres."
>
> HORACE: *Odes*, I, iv, 13.

In July I went down to Datchet to visit my Mother's aged Sisters: Lady Frances Higginson, aged 95, and Lady Georgiana Needham, aged 92. They were both walking round the garden like younger people. We spent August at Eastbourne as usual. I paid a visit to my dear old home, Cockayne Hatley.

This year I sold my collection of African Linguistic Books: my work with them is done, and books were intended to be read, and not to be stored away on shelves. I subsequently sold for the same reason

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many other Linguistic books, for which I had no further use. In my Library, before its dispersion, there were books in 176 Languages.

On September 27 I started with my wife and daughter on a trip to Spain and Morocco. We passed through France by the line of Clermont, Nismes, Perpignan, and through Spain by Barcelona, Tarragona, Valentia, Cordoba, Granada, and Málaga. From Barcelona I made a solitary pilgrimage to the Shrine of Monte Serráto, described in the Second Edition of my little volume on "Shrines," 1892. We embarked in a steamer for Gibraltar at Málaga, went carefully over the fortress, and dined with the Governor, the late Sir Arthur Hardinge, my old schoolfellow at Eton, and my companion in arms in the Sikh Campaign of 1845–46. From Gibraltar we took steamer to Tangiers in Morocco, and having seen what was to be seen returned to Gibraltar. I made particular inquiries as to the local Languages spoken in Morocco, and the Western Dialect of the great Arabic Language called Mághrabi, with a view to Bible-Translations. From Gibraltar we embarked in a Cunard-Steamer for Genoa: the sea was very rough. On the 24th October we landed at Genoa, and made a little tour in Italy to Pisa and Rome, reaching Naples November 5. We ascended Vesuvius by the new Railway up the slope, and my eyes were sadly affected for a long time afterwards by the smoke. We made our way back to Florence, where I gave an address in the Italian Language on Bible-work to a Boys' Institute. We passed through Paris, and reached London November 19. My eyes suffered so much, that I was obliged to consult an oculist.

Just before I left for Spain I attended a great Meeting on the subject of the "Drink Traffic to races under the influence of Great Britain." As regards the Traffic to the West Coast of Africa, I was ardently in favour of repressive measures, but my honoured friend, Dr. Farrar, now Dean of Canterbury, in his zeal for total abstinence, attacked the Government of India, and stated many things, regarding which my long experience as a Revenue Officer in two great Indian Provinces satisfied me, that they were incorrect. I wrote a letter to *The Times*, which was inserted at once, protesting against this speech, and promising

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on my return from Spain to answer it in detail. This I now did, and pointed out, how the Government of India had done everything to control the Traffic, which was reasonable, or which could be expected of a Government of the present Epoch; and I illustrated my argument by quotations from Authors showing the existence of the use of alcoholic liquors in India from the earliest days under Hindu and Mahometan Rule. The year closed quietly and happily. My elder children had now left my roof for homes of their own, and I was left alone with my wife and youngest daughter, with every hour of my day profitably employed, and, by God's mercy, with my faculties still undiminished.

I have reached the close of the Second Decade of Part III, "After India," my residence in England.

At the close of Decade II of Part III it seems suitable to notice briefly in detail the different Departments of Secular active work in which I had been engaged, or found myself still engaged, or took an interest. At the close of Decade I, I described my Linguistic studies: at the close of Decade III, I shall detail subjects connected with "Religion" in its widest sense.

Political and Municipal.

1. The Anti-Slavery Society.
2. The Anti-Liquor-Traffic Society in West Africa.
3. Political action at the time of Parliamentary Elections.
4. Liberal-Unionist Association in London.
5. Municipal Elections for County Council, School Board, Board of Guardians, Vestry.

Judicial and Magisterial.

6. Justice of the Peace for Counties of London and Middlesex.
7. Visiting-Committee of Prisons.
8. Visiting-Committee of Lunatic Asylums.
9. Board of Guardians.
10. Enforcing Collection of Parochial Rates.

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11. Certifying Pauper-Children for Emigration.
12. Transfer of Paupers from one Parish to another.
13. Visiting Parochial Institutions.
14. Administering Oaths, or taking depositions.
15. Disposing weekly of Lunacy Cases of Paupers in Workhouse.
16. Disposing of private applications in Lunacy Cases.
17. Attending Licensing Committees in Westminster and Kensington.
18. Petty Sessions Westminster and Kensington, and Quarterly Sessions Middlesex and London.
19. Attesting admission of Recruits into the Army.

Scientific.

20. Royal Asiatic Society: Hon. Secretary.
21. Royal Geographical Society: Council.
22. Hellenic Society.
23. Biblical Archæology Society: Council.
24. Philological Society.
25. Anthropological Society.
26. Egyptian Exploration Society.
27. Palestine Exploration Society.
28. British School of Archæology at Athens.
29. Assyriology and Egyptology: Classes.

Benevolent.

30. Needlework Association, Chelsea: Treasurer.
31. Vincent Square Female-Hospital.
32. Asiatic Strangers' Home: Vice-President.
33. Brabazon Fund, Chelsea Workhouse.
34. National Schools Committee, St. James the Less, Pimlico.
35. Charity Organization Society, Westminster.

The casual observer, and the ordinary resident, in London, neither knows, nor thinks of, the great work going on quietly around him. The Machine revolves, and he cares not for the details of the motive-power of the Machinery. I propose to note each subject, with which I came

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into contact, separately, as without this no idea could be formed of the extent and importance of the work, to which hours and days were consecrated.

1. *The Anti-Slavery Society.* I have been for many years a member and on the Committee of this important Society. In 1884 there was a great Meeting in the Guildhall on the subject, and later on a Meeting in Princes Hall, Piccadilly, under the chairmanship of Earl Granville, in which the French Cardinal Lavigerie, who had come over specially for the purpose, took a part. In 1899 the Society sent a Deputation to the Foreign-Office, in which, owing to the office of President being vacant by the death of Mr. Arthur Pease, I had to speak as officiating Chairman of the Committee. I cannot say that I entirely agree with all the proceedings of the Committee, though they have been well-intended. Many painful features have transpired: (1) the slave-holding by the Christian Missionary Societies, notably the Society of Friends in Madagascar: (2) the slave-holding in Western Africa by converted Negroes; I addressed them a circular letter on the subject: (3) the evident determination of the European settlers in South Africa, English and Dutch, to maintain the Institution, if not in name as Slavery, at least in practice, as 'Involuntary Servitude.' But the most distressing feature is the policy of the Conservative Government now in power, not to adopt the wise policy of British India in 1843, but to 'toy' as it were with the Custom, and the manifest disposal of the British officials in East Africa not to abolish the status of Slavery at all hazards, as the Authorities on the Niger in West Africa have boldly done.

In the year preceding Her Majesty's second Jubilee, 1897, I published in *The Times* a letter in September, suggesting as follows:

"We are all striving to do something to render illustrious the sixtieth year of "Her Majesty's reign. May I suggest, that we take a step, which will remove one "stain from the shield of Great Britain. Let measures be taken, that the shameful "status of Involuntary Servitude, *alias* Slavery, be abolished within Her Majesty's "Dominions in every part of the world. If necessary, and the owners are entitled "to compensation, let them have it."

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 380.

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Nothing was done. The scandal remains, owing to the weak-kneed policy of the British Government.

In the current year I returned to the charge, and sent to *The Times* the following letter, but no notice was taken of it. However, it was published in the periodical of the Society, and had a wide circulation.

THE DUTY OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE MATTER OF SLAVERY IN BRITISH PROTECTORATES IN AFRICA.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

"SIR, May I solicit the favour of a small space in your columns on the subject of the deputations to the Foreign Office on January 13, regarding the Institution of Slavery in East Equatorial Africa.

"I had the honour of representing the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but in your report my remarks are reduced into the space of six lines; such was the fate of other speakers, who spoke at great length, men who knew the subject thoroughly, and were not mere fanatical faddists. I also have studied practically the phenomena of this subject for more than fifty years.

"Some of your correspondents write, as if Involuntary Servitude were a necessary part of the domestic life of a Mahometan community, forgetting that the Empress of India has a larger number of Mahometan subjects than any other Sovereign, and among the sixty millions of Mahometans in India there is not a single Slave; and this state of things has come about since the year 1843, when the legal status of Slavery was abolished by Statesmen, who knew what their duty was, and had the strength of their convictions to do it.

"Some write as if on this matter of personal liberty there should be one law for males and another for females: they ought to be ashamed of themselves.

"In British India, forty years ago, when a so-called 'Slave-girl' rushed into my Magisterial Court for protection against a eunuch, or the so-called 'Slave-owner' himself, on her petition I endorsed '*The petitioner may go wherever she likes.*' This was signed and sealed and handed to her; and I should like to have seen a eunuch or a Nawab touch her.

"No compensation was given. If the male or female so-called 'Slave' were content to live with their old employer, they could do so; all that was conditioned for was, 'no lash'; 'no restraint of the person.' All Her Majesty's subjects had the right of personal liberty, and any wrong inflicted on one of Her Majesty's subjects was punishable by the executive authorities.

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"We boast of being an Imperial Race, with a high sense of what is morally right and what is morally wrong: British India has always acted up to that standard.

"When we abolished the custom of 'burning of widows,' we laughed at Hindu religious laws, or customs having the force of law.

"When we forbade the Rajpút nobles to kill their daughters, the same argument was used, that no custom can justify murder.

"As we extended our Empire in the middle of this Century, our laws regarding widow-burning, daughter-killing, and Slavery, accompanied us. No new legislation was required for so-called 'Protectorates,' or newly-conquered Provinces; it was part of our system to carry with us on our warpath personal liberty, religious toleration, and protection of human life.

"In 1844 I was appointed Assistant to the Agent of the Governor-General in the Protected Sikh States, betwixt the Satlaj and the Jamna; nothing in the way of Slavery, such as capture of runaways or personal violence, was tolerated.

"When two years later, after tremendous battles, we annexed the country as far as Beas, I was placed in charge of a newly-conquered district, and, under the orders of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, we quietly forbade all such customs as I have described above. The people did not quite like it, but had to submit.

"Why does not the grandson of that noble hero, Sir Henry Hardinge, who is now Consul-General at Zanzibár, rise to the level of greatness of his grandfather? Is the British nation retrograding in its sense of high moral duty? Is the population of the Protectorate of Zanzibár, Pemba, and the strip of mainland, *so very much in excess* of British India? We know that it is a mere drop in the Ocean.

"Subject Provinces are not made over by Providence to British Rule merely for the purpose of expanding commerce, and shaking the pagóda-tree, but in order that Englishmen may, like the Romans in ancient days, act Imperially: call a spade a spade, denounce a commercial job, and punish and root out a crime.

"Send an Anglo-Indian of the 'John Lawrence' type to East Africa, and the difficulty will disappear. The present position of affairs is contemptible in the eyes of the administrators of great subject Provinces. West Africa and the Niger set a shining example to East Africa. The status of Slavery has been abolished there by a strong man, who knew what was right and did it."

At the Annual Meeting of the Society held in 1899, one of the speakers drew attention to the really disgusting fact, that the British officials made over the person of a Christian girl of tender years to her alleged Mahometan owner. I addressed the following letter to *The Record*. It is wonderful to reflect on the degradation of high moral

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principles brought on, if this be true, by a residence in Africa. In our vast English encampment in India we were not liable to such influences.

GREAT BRITAIN AND SLAVERY.

"SIR, The Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held last week. Three Members of Parliament were present, and made long speeches. One thing was clear, that there were no party politics in the controversy which raged, and that the fatuous policy adopted by the present Government in Eastern Equatorial Africa was condemned equally by their political supporters and opponents. Nothing but the removal of all the British Officials by promotion, or otherwise, to other Colonies gives any hope of a wiser course. It is not for want of example, for the great problem of the status of slavery was settled in India by a stroke of the pen fifty-five years ago, and the Empress of India has a larger number of Mahometan subjects than the population of Turkey and Persia added together.

"Mr. Bayley, M.P., moved as follows:—'That this Meeting learns with regret, that Her Majesty's Government have taken no steps to carry out their pledge to abolish the legal status of slavery at the earliest possible opportunity in the mainland of the Zanzibár Protectorate. It views with the strongest dissatisfaction the action taken by Her Majesty's officials in Mombása, in June last, in enforcing the local custom of slavery, and ordering a native Christian girl, with her father and mother, back to their former owner, in defiance of the instructions sent out by the Government in June, 1897, against British subjects taking any part in the rendition of fugitive slaves. This Meeting protests against this anomaly, which is contrary to the spirit of British law, and a complete reversal of the tradition and policy of this country, and calls on the Government to put an end to the hesitating policy of the past few years by issuing a decree that—*The status of slavery be abolished throughout the whole Sultanate of Zanzibár, and in all British Protectorates in Eastern and Central Africa.*' Mr. A. E. Pease, M.P., seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. E. W. Brooks and passed. It was decided to send a copy of the resolution to the Prime Minister.

"It is painful to think that in the last year of the Nineteenth Century two British Officers should have been found so stupid as not to understand what they were doing, or so degraded as to do it with full knowledge of the nature of their actions, as to hand over a young girl, who had led for ten years the life of a Christian, to the hands of a Mahometan Arab slave-owner. Of one thing I am sure, that amidst the hundreds of British Officials, who hold sway over the three hundred millions of India, good, bad, or indifferent though they may be, not one would have been found so regardless of Christianity, Morality, and Justice, as to hand over a poor Christian girl to an Arab claimant, even if the law gave the so-called man indefeasible right. Among

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themselves they would have got together the price of the poor girl at its full rate in the market, handed it to the claimant, and placed the poor girl under the protection of those, who respected female virtue. The public conscience of Great Britain should speak out.

"Some of the speakers remarked at the Meeting, that among the English settlers in Africa, notably in South Africa, slavery was taking new developments, and the time may be at hand, when we shall have English slave-owners again, and, of course, slave-dealers. Slavery should be classed with robbery and murder."

2. *The Anti-Liquor-Traffic Society in West Africa.* Drunkenness is one of the curses of Civilization, and contact with other Nations. If with one hand the White Man has set the Negro free from Slavery, with the other he introduces a greater scourge, a more debasing Slavery.

3. *Political action at the time of the Parliamentary Elections.* This speaks for itself. When in the Borough of Chelsea, where I reside, or in the County of Lincoln, to which my family belongs, it is my duty to take a part, especially when a member of my family is the Candidate.

4 and 5. These are the ordinary duties of a London-Householder, which ought not to be neglected, as they are by many.

6. I was originally appointed in 1878 Justice of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, as it was then known. By a subsequent Act of Parliament the County was divided into two, and two new Counties came into existence, London and Middlesex. However, the old Justices were declared to belong to both. Within the Metropolitan Area there was positively no Judicial work, as paid Magistrates were retained for that purpose, but there were many and important non-Judicial duties to be discharged. I describe them seriatim.

7. *Visiting-Committee of Prisons.* A certain number of Justices are told off to form a Committee of twelve in each Prison within the area of the two Counties. I was first on the Female Penitentiary in Coldbath Fields; when that Prison was pulled down, I was transferred to the Millbank Prison, and when that Prison also was pulled down, I was transferred to the Wormwood Scrubs Prison, where I still serve. Every Month, on the second Friday, we have a Committee, and once in three months we have to make an inspection of the Prison. Our position is

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that of a Visiting Judicial body, and we have no concern with the administration of the Establishment. The work is very interesting, and I should be sorry to give it up.

8. *Visiting-Committee of Lunatic Asylums, and Disposing of Lunacy Cases.* A certain number of Justices were told off to this duty, and I served on the Committees of Hanwell, Colney Hatch, and Banstead; but by a late Act of Parliament, the control of these Asylums, which was administrative, not Judicial, was transferred to the County Council. So this duty disappeared. The disposal of Lunacy Cases as regards paupers in the Workhouse rests with any Justice, who arranges to serve, and the alleged lunatic must be visited; but only a certain number of Justices are empowered annually to dispose of Lunacy Cases of the General Public, and this is done either in the private residence of the Justice, or in the residence of the Lunatic: but in such cases personal inspection is not necessary. This service is painful, but it is important, that it should be conducted by experienced persons. I found it an onerous task in Chelsea.

9. *Board of Guardians.* When I was originally appointed a Justice, every Justice was *ex officio* a Guardian; but by an alteration of the Law, only two non-elected persons can be co-opted as Justices by the elected Board, and they are not necessarily Justices. I was many years in my first residence a Guardian of the Parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, and have now been nearly fourteen years Guardian of Chelsea: the work is very onerous, as well as important; weekly attendance for several hours is necessary; but it is interesting, and opens out new fields of inquiry and reflection, and is also a discharge of duty to our poorer brethren.

10. *Enforcing Collection of Parochial Rates.* This is a very painful duty, and occurs only twice each year, when the defaulters of the Rates have to be proceeded against by Distraint of Property or Imprisonment.

11. *Certifying Pauper-Children for Emigration.* This is a slight but important duty, and of only occasional occurrence.

12. *Transfer of Pauper Children from one Parish to another.* This is an important, but not very onerous duty, and of constant recurrence.

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13. *Visiting Parochial Institutions.* This speaks for itself.

14. *Administering Oaths and taking Depositions.* This is a duty of constant recurrence, and it is doubtless a great convenience to the general public, and is discharged in the private house of the Justice.

15 and 16. See No. 8.

17. *Attending Licensing Committees.* This is a very serious and tedious duty, it recurs annually, and occupies much time. Some portion of the duty has been transferred to the County Council; still, much remains to be done.

18. *Petty Monthly Sessions and Quarterly Sessions.* In the former there is a great deal of miscellaneous work to be got through in the Town Hall of the District; the latter is the solemn quarterly Meeting of the Justices of the two names of Clerkenwell and Westminster respectively, and a considerable amount of serious work has to be got through.

19. *Attesting the admission of Recruits into the Army.* See p. 174.

It will be seen, therefore, that, if the Office of the Justice of the Peace is assumed with serious intentions, good service can be rendered, but, unfortunately, many have been appointed to it, who do absolutely no work at all, and have only desired the Office as giving a certain amount of position: this has rendered the Office despicable.

20. *Royal Asiatic Society.* I joined this Society during my short visit to London in 1851, when my old friend, Professor Hayman Wilson, who had examined me in Sanskrit at Haileybury in 1841-2, was Director. When the Sepoy Mutinies broke out in 1857, and I was ordered out to India, I resigned my membership, but in 1869, when I was settled in London, I was re-elected. I was appointed to the Council, became Honorary Librarian, and in 1878 Honorary Secretary, which post I still hold. I find that I have contributed fifty papers to the Journal (see Appendix III); and the attendance at the Meetings, the use of the excellent Library, and the society of friends made there, have proved a wonderful pleasure and advantage. On several occasions I read papers, and represented the Society at International Oriental Congresses.

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21. *Royal Geographical Society.* In 1851 I had made, at the Meeting of the British Association at Ipswich, the acquaintance of the late Sir Roderick Murchison, and was by him proposed as a Fellow of this Society. In 1857, for the reason above stated, I resigned my Membership, but in 1869 I renewed it. I was for many years on the Council, and represented the Society at Foreign Congresses. The Meetings and the use of the Library, and the many acquaintances formed, were of enormous profit to me. I could not have completed the books, which I published on Languages, without access to the Library. In late years I have ceased to attend the Meetings, as they are at night, and I never go out of my house after dark. My elder daughter is a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and one of the few Lady-Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society, and on one occasion she represented the Society at a Geographical Congress at Genoa, as I was unable to attend in person.

22. *The Hellenic Society.* This I joined at the request of my lamented friend Sir Charles Newton, of the British Museum, and enjoyed the Meetings and the Publications very much. The Meetings take place in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society. As time went on, I resigned my Membership, and my youngest daughter was elected in my place. I read the Publications and occasionally attend the Meetings: they are both very instructive, especially to those, who are Classical Scholars, and have visited Greece more than once, and the Levant, as I have done.

23. *The Biblical Archæology Society.* I belonged to this Society for many years, and was on the Council. The subjects discussed were new to me, and the papers were most interesting. I am greatly indebted to words, which I heard uttered at the Meetings, as they broke through the thick clouds, that surrounded in past years the history of the ancient Scriptures of the Jews, and led me on to the study of Higher Criticism. I made some valuable acquaintances here, both Jew and Gentile. As the meetings were held at a considerable distance from my house, and at night, I was obliged to withdraw from the Society.

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24. *The Philological Society.* I joined this Society very early, and derived great advantage from the Publications, and the discussion. I contributed papers to the former, and took part in the latter. I made here the friendship of many remarkable men, notably the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and Dr. Murray, Editor of the Oxford Dictionary of the English Language, Mr. Sweet, Mr. A. Ellis, and of others well known in their different departments. I should have liked to have continued a Member, but the Meetings were held at night, and at the London University, Gower Street, and it became impossible for me to attend, so I withdrew.

25. *The Anthropological Society.* My elder daughter was elected Member, and thus I had access to the Publications, and attended the Annual Meetings, but the late hours of the Ordinary Meetings, and the distance, rendered Membership to me impossible.

26. *The Egyptian Exploration Society.* My youngest daughter was elected a Member of this Society, and I had the same advantages as in the above-mentioned Society.

27. *The Palestine Exploration Society.* The same remarks apply.

28. *The British School of Archæology at Athens.* The same remarks apply.

29. *Assyriology and Egyptology Classes.* See p. 134.

30. *The Needlewomen's Association, Chelsea.* My lamented cousin, Lady Marion Alford, had founded this. It did good work, and while she lived, she supervised. I cannot think that it ever paid its way. It was a charity in the guise of a Commercial Association. My cousin Earl Brownlow, out of respect to his Mother's memory, carried it on, and formed an Association, who subscribed, and for several years I was Treasurer. The work was interesting, and the object benevolent, but it was *not business*, and at last it was determined to close it. It is a difficult problem to decide whether the interference of benevolent people with the free operation of natural Labour laws can ever succeed.

31. *Vincent Square Female-Hospital.* See p. 131.

32. *Asiatic Strangers' Home.* This is a most interesting Institution,

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and well worthy of the support of all who have made their means of livelihood in India. The Headquarters are at Limehouse, near the Docks, and all Indian sailors on arrival in port take up their abode there, and are safe from the plundering of low lodging-houses till they embark again. I joined the Association many years ago, and take a great interest in its welfare. I am a Vice-President, but it is too far for me to venture to the Annual Meetings.

33. *Brabazon Fund.* An attempt to give work to paupers in the Workhouse, Chelsea.

34. *National Schools Committee, St. James the Less, Pimlico.* No remarks required.

35. Charity Organization Society, Westminster. Ditto.

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Chapter VIII.

PERIOD VII.

AFTER INDIA, 1868–1897. THIRD DECADE, 1888–1897.

(1) Tours.
(2) Oriental Congresses.
(3) Missionary Congresses.
(4) Literary Work.
(5) Addresses, Lectures, and Speeches: Oxford Mission, Bethnal Green.
(6) Prisons, Asylums.
(7) Mission Meetings, City Temple.
(8) State of Health: Fall from Horse.
(9) Distribution of my Works to Foreign Libraries.
(10) Interview with King and Queen of Sweden, and Shah of Persia.
(11) Paris Exhibition.

1888.

I WAS so much indebted to the Libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, and the Royal Geographical Society, that I considered it my duty to present a certain number of books to each, sending them my Catalogue, that they might make their choice. I went down to Cambridge and gave an address on Hero-Missionaries, and Hero-Missionary Societies, in Henry Martyn's Hall. It was printed. I had always been the advocate of admitting women to Religious Committees;

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 489.

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I was violently opposed by the stupid old Clergy. However, I succeeded in carrying a measure in the Church Missionary Society, that women, who had done good service to the Society, should have an honour conferred on them analogous to that, which was conferred on men: "Honorary Members for Life." I published in Paris a French Translation of my "Essay on the Languages and Races of Oceania," with Map.

In June we had the second Congress of Missionary Societies, and very important it was. I was one of the Organizing Committee of this Congress, and took an active part in the proceedings. I had prepared, after considerable labour, a Conspectus of all the different Protestant Missionary Societies which existed. The Conspectus was published in the pages of *The Record* newspaper, and I read a paper contrasting the Social and Political condition of the world with that of the last Century.[1] In September, I published a book called "Notes on Missionary Subjects," a collective volume of Essays written at different times. I felt that the time had come, when I ought to speak out on the extremely unsatisfactory way, in which business was conducted in Missionary Societies. Of course the book was unpopular.

With my wife and daughter I took a long tour in Russia and Austria, visiting Moscow, returning by Hungary and Northern Italy, and Switzerland. We paid visits to German friends in their mountain-châlet near Gratz, and to Swiss friends at Winterthúr, in Switzerland.

I wrote this year a paper on the distribution of the Languages of the Turki Branch of the Ural-Altaic Family. I began also in earnest to prepare Catalogues of Languages, into which Translations of the Bible have been made, and are in circulation. I tried to arrange them: I, alphabetically, according to their names, taking care that the right spelling of names was used; II, geographically, according to their location; III, linguistically, according to the Language-Family, to which

[1] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series II, p. 345.
[2] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 17.
[3] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, pp. 237, 244, 251, 330.
[4] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 45.

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they belonged. My thoughts were much directed to what seemed to me the foolish policy adopted by the Government of Great Britain, and by the Church Missionary Society, in East Equatorial Africa. It seemed unworthy of a Protestant Association to lean on the Arm of the Flesh, and adopt the bad practices of the Epoch of Charlemagne in Europe, and the Church of Rome everywhere.

1889.

This year I was honoured by being permitted to give a lecture to the Eton-Boys in their School-Library on the subject of the Translations of the Bible. At the close of the lecture I distributed 100 copies of a verse of the Bible, "God so loved the world," etc., in all the Languages circulated by the Bible Society. It gave me great pleasure to see the dear boys going off to their houses, as I had done in 1839, fifty years ago. I dined with the Head Master. I had brought the subject, as I hoped, down to the level of the intelligence of boys of 16 years of age, and above, and the junior Assistant-Masters, but my dear friend, Dr. Mackarness, the late Bishop of Oxford, when he read the printed copy of my address, did not think that the boys could have understood me. At any rate, 100 copies of the printed pamphlet were sent for distribution.

The great change in the organization of the Justices of the Peace of the County took place this year, and I found myself entered in the list of two Counties, London and Middlesex: we had our last collective Quarterly Sessions in April. It made no difference to me, but it did make a great difference, when the charge of the County Lunatic Asylums was transferred from us to the County Councils. I could never approve of this measure.

I prepared carefully a series of papers for *The Churchman* on:

(1) The Language spoken by our Lord and His Apostles.
(2) The Languages of the Old Testament.
(3) The Languages spoken and written by the Evangelists, and the other New Testament writers.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, pp. 1-79.

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(4) The Translation of the Bible in Ancient and Modern Times.
(5) Latin Translations.
(6) French Translations.

I found a new field of usefulness in giving addresses in a Chapel in Short's Gardens, St. Giles. This was a very interesting duty. I was asked to give an address to men in the Oxford-Mission in the East End, and I gladly accepted the task. Many of my hearers were described as 'freethinkers,' or 'atheists,' and I was prepared for this. My subject was, "Civilization without the Gospel is nothing worth." I was listened to with great attention: there was no abuse, or contempt, or sensational claptrap in my address. I spoke to them as man to man on the subject of their souls. Many of them rose afterwards, and in a pleasant and respectful manner disputed some of my arguments. I was greatly impressed by their bearing and words. Another subject which was forced upon me was that of "Lepers and Leprosy." I had come on this phenomenon in India, and Syria, and I wrote a paper. My late visit to Morocco suggested a paper for the *Calcutta Review*. The Editor of that Journal did not think it suitable, and returned it: the Editor of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly* was delighted to publish it, as it was a sketch composed on the spot.

I read this year a great number of Theological works, such as those of Dean Farrar and Bishop Westcott, and Canon Gore's "Lux Mundi"; and got together material for many future Essays: would Time allow? (I write gratefully after the lapse of ten years that Time did allow.)

One interesting incident occurred: the Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society, being disappointed by the inability to attend of the selected Chairman of his Annual Meeting, came to me and asked me to take the Chair in no less a place than the City-Temple, on the Holborn Viaduct: there was a grand audience in the great Hall, and I had strength vouchsafed to me to make my address a success.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 353.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 556.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 571.

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In May I visited Paris with my wife and daughter for the great French Exhibition: one of the things, which we enjoyed most, was climbing to the top of the Eiffel Tower.

The most interesting event of this year to me personally was my visit, in July, to Ashridge Park, near Great Berkhampstead, Hertfordshire, the seat of my cousin, the Head of my Family, Earl Brownlow. The Shah of Persia was to spend July 8 at Hatfield Park with the Marquess of Salisbury, to drive over to Ashridge Park, where he would dine and sleep, and next day go on to Lord Rothschild, who lived not very far off. There were a great number of Persian attendants with the Shah, and Sir Henry Rawlinson and myself were invited to assist in their entertainment and interpret. Among the Company were the late Prince Edward, Duke of Clarence, the Marquis and Marchioness of Dufferin, the Marquis and Marchioness of Bath, my cousins, the Earl and Countess of Kilmorey, and many other persons known to me by sight, or as acquaintances. The reception was right royal, and worthy of the magnificent House. I was presented to the Shah, and had a few words with His Majesty (Hazrat) in the Persian Language, and I took care of the Persian attendants at a separate round table in the great Banqueting Hall. My nephew Henry Cust presented me to the lamented Prince Edward, Duke of Clarence, as they were friends at Cambridge. The gardens were illuminated, and crowded with the company invited to the Reception after the banquet. In the middle of the exciting proceedings at Dinner, while I was laughing and chatting with my Persian friends, something went wrong with my throat, and I was seized with a violent attack of Spasmodic Asthma. I crawled out of the window into the garden, and crept into the private study of my cousin, Earl Brownlow. There was no one within call, so I loosened my necktie, and clothes, and tried to bear up: I dared not sit down: the noise of music and talking in the garden and the house was terrific. I thought that Death was upon me; and it seemed so hard to make

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 579.

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my solitary moans in such a sad environment. After a half hour of agony, a crack took place in my throat, the imprisoned air escaped, the tightness subsided, and I was well again; I dressed and went back again amidst the company: but it was a warning. Lord, let me consider my end! Will it come in some such way! Next day I superintended the Photographing of the House-party in the gardens, copies of which I have on my walls. The Shah was assassinated not very long afterwards, and Prince Edward was taken away suddenly. Another instance of the uncertainty of Human Life. I feel as if I were walking with graves on each side of me.

I attended the Annual Dinner of the Old Haileybury Students, and, owing to the absence of some chosen post-prandial Orator, a toast was thrust on me unwillingly. I quote it as reported, for I hate the kind of thing.

"I am an 'Emergency man.' This toast was assigned to Sir R. A. Dalzell, but at the last moment he had been obliged to send an excuse. When the Secretary came to me, I replied, that I had already spoken two years ago; that it spoilt a good dinner to have to make a speech after it, and that it spoilt a speech to have eaten a good dinner before it. When he pressed me, I suggested that he should ask Sir R. Thompson, of Bangál: the reply was, that he was dining with the Lord Mayor. I then suggested that able lawyer, the Hon. Mr. Justice Pinhey, of the High Court of Bombay: he had declined. I then called attention to that admirable man Stiggins, who had been twenty-five years Collector of the Northern Sircars, the centre and front of Madras intelligence: the reply was, that he could only speak Télugu. I felt that I had no escape. When I considered my subject, I was disappointed. Had I to propose the health of our Chairman, or our old friends the Professors, the sight of their genial faces would have inspired me; one likes to see the object of one's toast. I was required to propose the toast of something, which had never had a personal existence, and which was dead. That great moralist, Sam Weller, tells us, that no one ever saw a dead donkey. Has anyone ever seen a dead Company? But though none of us ever saw, all of us have known, honoured, and feel indebted to, the great East India Company. It has been the fashion to abuse it; I never could agree with that view. I will give two brief reasons. (1) It founded a great Empire, the envy of all European Nations: it is not probable, that the Germans in East Africa will be equally

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successful. It ruled that Empire for a Century with wisdom and equity, and in the interest of the people, robbing no one of his lands. We cannot say the same of the British Rule in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and North America. (2) It made a capital selection of servants to carry out its orders. Of course there were 10 per cent. 'hard-bargains'; perhaps some of them are now present; but, if there were no hard-bargains provided for, what would become of our sons and nephews! Ninety per cent. were good, honest, hard-working men, content with their wages, who have come home with their hands unsoiled by bribes, like the Russian officials, and unstained by blood, like the officials of another country. Ten per cent. have been men of whom Great Britain at any age would have been proud, men like John Lawrence and Bartle Frere, George Clerk, John Peter Grant, and last, but not least, Frederick Halliday. Without any conscientious scruple I propose the toast of 'The Glorious Memory of the East India Company.'"

I used to ride on the Downs at Eastbourne: this year, while taking my ride, my thoughts went off in a reverie, and I fell from my horse unconscious: I suffered no injury, but I took the hint, and have never mounted a horse again.

Accompanied by my wife and daughter I started on August 27 to Sweden for the Eighth Oriental Congress. We embarked at Hull, crossed over to Christiania, and settled down comfortably at the Grand Hotel at Stockholm, with plenty of old friends and the materials for making new ones. I was reporter to *The Times* newspaper, and we were all presented to Oscar, the King of Sweden. He was a remarkably courteous and agreeable King. I read in Congress my paper on the Turki Languages, and distributed it in the German and English Languages. I had a private interview with the Queen of Sweden for the purpose of presenting to her, in the name of the Bible Society, a copy of the Scriptures in Swedish. She was most friendly, and my wife and daughter were brought up and presented to her. But a greater surprise awaited us, for on our leaving the Palace we met King Oscar, quite alone, who insisted on taking us over the Gardens, and was most pleasant to us. He had known some of my relations in England, and

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 610.

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sent by me his kind regards to them. He showed us his two little grandchildren at their play, and pointed out some bronze statues in the Gardens as having been captured from the Danes in some war. He told us incidentally, that "*he was born a miserable younger son*," and had only become King by chance. Finally, he accompanied us to the borders of the Lake, saw us into our steamer, shook hands, and then kissed his hand to us, as the steamer went off to Stockholm.

We left by steamer for Abu in Finland, and then took train to St. Petersburg, from which place we worked our way to Ratisbon on the Danube in Bavaria. Here my wife fell very ill, causing us long delay and serious alarm. However, at last she was fit for travel, and we got home on October 21. I began to feel, that our time for taking these extensive tours was coming to an end. Illness in a foreign Hotel is a very sad thing indeed, and to be avoided if possible.

This year I commenced the practice of distributing copies of my works, as published, as free gifts to Public Libraries in the United States, Europe, and Asia. My usual practice now is to set aside one hundred Presentation-copies: forty for Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland, forty for the United States, ten for the Continent, ten for India. I wish my books to have a chance of being read, and of my outspoken opinions being discussed, and, if wished, denounced. I have no expensive habits, as many other men have, and it is a downright pleasure to turn out every year a new volume, or some years twins.

1890.

As usual I had many Essays in hand: (1) an account of the Eighth Oriental Congress at Stockholm in the *Calcutta Review*; (2) in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* a discussion whether India would profit by the cessation of European occupation; (3) on the Languages of Western Africa, for the *Bible Society Reporter*; (4) on Brotherhoods and

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 195.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 143.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 544.

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Sisterhoods in Missions, and on Missions in East Equatorial Africa, in the periodical called *Church-Work*; (5) a series of papers in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, afterwards in a Collective Volume, called "Clouds on the Horizon," detailing the different 'New Beliefs' springing up in the minds of men, who have shaken off their old effete spiritual Bondage. A large number of scattered Essays in different Periodicals were brought together by the publication of the Third Series of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays." This shows, that there was much intellectual activity, and a great amount of reading, to get together material for such Essays.

Another most unexpected event happened: Dr. Temple, the Bishop of London, decided to set apart a certain number of Laymen as licensed Preachers in his Diocese, specially for subjects such as Missions, Temperance, etc. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was good enough to name me as suitable for the Office, and I was duly appointed to it, kneeling with my companions in the Office on the steps of the Communion Table in St. Paul's, while a charge was delivered to us, and a copy of the Scriptures presented to each. We were apparelled in white surplice, with collar and badge. My only regret was, that I had not received this Commission, when I was in my Sixtieth year, instead of in my Seventieth, as it is a delightful one. However, I gladly undertook the Office.

The Secular and Religious work of my many Societies went on as usual. Up to this time I had occupied furnished houses, but this year my superior landlord vacated the lease, removed his furniture, and the house was redecorated and entirely furnished, and I took a lease of seven years.

In March I went down to Belton to assist my nephew, Henry John Cockayne Cust, who was standing for the Stamford Division of Lincolnshire: this was delightful work. I passed one night in my round of speeches at Burghleigh House, the Seat of the Marquess of Exeter. In

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 461.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 473.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, p. 367.

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the short interval betwixt that date and the year 1898, the old Marquess, whom I knew at Eton, and his eldest son, who succeeded him as Marquess in 1895, have both died. In May I attended the great reception of Henry Stanley, the African Traveller, in Albert Hall: it was a grand Meeting, and I had a good seat on the platform. The Prince of Wales was in the Chair. I witnessed a few days afterwards the reception of Henry Stanley by the Lord Mayor in Guildhall. This also was an impressive sight. I accompanied the delegates of the Church Missionary Society to the Foreign Office, and had an interview with the Marquess of Salisbury, then Foreign Secretary, on the subject of U-Ganda. I totally differed then, as now, from the Committee of the Church Missionary Society and the Government in their proposed policy about U-Ganda, both from a political and Missionary point of view.

Another field of usefulness was opened to me. I was requested by my cousin, Earl Brownlow, to be Treasurer to the Alford Needlework Association in Westminster. I did not much like it, but I accepted it in grateful recollection of my dear cousin, Lady Marion Alford, who founded it: it was not successful, and after a few years was closed. I paid a visit of two days to my dear old home, Cockayne Hatley, and slept under the roof once more, and for the very last time. I made a circular deputation tour in the Counties of Northumberland and Durham with my elder daughter: we were received in the homes of friends, held Meetings daily, and it really was most delightful. On another occasion I was asked to deliver a lecture on Bible-work in the Mission Room of Spurgeon's Chapel in the Borough to Baptist Students, and a few days afterwards I went to St. Leonards-on-Sea as Deputation from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and sat by the side of my old Eton friend, Dr. Durnford, late Bishop of Chichester.

This year, at the request of the Editors of the "Encyclopædia of Missions," published by Funk & Wagnall, of New York, 1891, I prepared an Alphabetical List of Languages, with their Dialects, made use of in Translations of the Holy Scripture. There were 269 entries. It was the

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 251.

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first list of the kind; at any rate, I never saw any before. Great care was taken to spell all the names on one particular principle, to state what form of Written Character was used, and in what part of the world the Language was current. I need scarcely say that it cost me a great deal of labour, and according to my practice and duty I took no remuneration.

1891.

This year I was appointed a Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible-Society. I had worked hard for its interests in attendance at Committees, publishing at my own charges Books to illustrate the subject, and appearing constantly on the Platform to describe its great work. I went to York for the Simultaneous Meetings of the Church Missionary Society, accompanied by my youngest daughter. We stayed at the Deanery with my cousins, Dean Purey-Cust and his wife, Lady Emma Cust. I had to make several speeches. I was appointed Delegate of the Royal Geographical Society at the approaching International Geographical Congress at Berne in Switzerland.

On the 24th of February I kept my 71st birthday. I began life with a birthday on February 24, 1821, and at midnight on February 23, 1891, I had completed seventy years. I started with my daughter to Southampton on the 26th, on a Deputation for the Church Missionary Society, and stayed with Canon Basil Wilberforce. From Southampton I went to Langdown, and visited the residence of the mother of my elder children, which never by me can be forgotten. My youngest daughter was presented at the Queen's Drawing Room. The decennial Census of Population took place, and when I had filled up the return for my house, it exhibited the following exceeding disproportion of the sexes: Myself the only male. The females amounted to eight: my wife, daughter, granddaughter, and five maids. Can this be the average proportion of the sexes? and yet in looking down the district the same seemed to prevail elsewhere, except that in the house of one or two of my neighbours there was not a single male. At the Monthly Meeting of the Church Missionary Society Young Men's Union I gave a lecture,

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which lasted the unconscionable time of one and a half hours, on the "Continuity of the attempt to Evangelize the Heathen in some part or other of the World." This was the result of long and serious study, but I never sent it to the Press, as the subject has been fully treated in elaborate volumes by other authors; though the details of the spread of the three Propagandist Religions, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, have never been philosophically discussed. The two last brought misery on the World by the attempts forcibly to impose new Religious Conceptions on others; at all events, the professors of the Quietist Religions, like the Hindu and Buddhist, if left alone themselves, were contented to be left alone. I had proposed a great work on the subject, and the syllabus was prepared, but I thought it best to leave it and turn to something more practical than a review of the past; at any rate, the great curse of Religious Intolerance and forcible Propagandism has ceased to exist.

My thoughts then turned to the "Missionary Occupation of Africa by the Nations of Europe," and I prepared my paper in the French and English Languages for the International Geographical Congress at Berne in August of this year. Copies were circulated to all who were present, and I opened the Congress, as it was the first subject on the Agenda, by a brief statement in the English Language. On my return to England I developed the subject still further, and published a Quarto Volume with Appendices, under the title of "Africa Rediviva," with a Map showing all the different Missionary locations of the different Christian Churches. This book was most favourably received, as it supplied a real want: there was nothing of the kind for the whole of Africa before. The original Essay on Missionary Occupation of Africa also appeared in a French Periodical.

We had a grand meeting at the Mansion House, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury (the late Dr. Benson), and the Duke of Connaught was one of the speakers. The subject was the work of "Diffusion of the Translations of the Bible." The Archbishop

"Africa Rediviva" (1891).

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spoke in the kindest manner of my lately published Book, "Bible Languages," quoting portions and commenting upon the Birth and Decay of Languages. I was much gratified. My labour seemed to be having its reward.

Another event took place this year. The Millbank Prison was closed and pulled down, and the Visiting Committee transferred to the new Prison of Wormwood-Scrubs. This is the second time, that a Prison, with which I was connected, has been pulled down, as the same fate met the Female Penitentiary, when I was transferred to Millbank.

In the first week of May there were the usual Annual Meetings of the great Societies. I am indeed weary of them. I suppose that they are necessary to keep together a great constituency, but I do not myself require such flapping up, so I decided, that this should be the last occasion for my occupying my old seat on the Platform in Exeter Hall. Age is telling on me so far, and, though I can work thoroughly well in my Study in complete quiet, I am unequal to attendance at long and noisy Committees, and so I must gradually give them up also, keeping to smaller Committees, where there is no noise or excitement.

On the 19th June we had a grand Meeting of the Colonial Bishops Jubilee-Fund in St. James's Hall: there was a large attendance. Two persons were present, who had assisted fifty years before at the initial Meetings: one of them was William Ewart Gladstone, and he had made one of his first speeches here. Strange to say, I was called upon to support a Resolution affirming the extreme importance of the Colonial Bishops for the extension of Missions.

On the 21st I accompanied my youngest daughter to Ashridge Park to unveil the Memorial Cross to the memory of my dear Cousin, Lady Marion Alford: a large number of my Family were assembled: it was an interesting occurrence, and I was glad to be present, though mourning over the occasion.

On the 23rd I went with my daughter to Eton for the celebration of the 450th anniversary of the foundation of the College. A Museum

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of things connected with Eton had been opened, and I presented to it my red Montem Coat, 1838, my Boating Jacket, and Straw Hat, in which I rowed in the Ten Oar on the 4th of June, and Election Saturday, 1840, my Collection of Annual Lists of the School, and a portion of the Sixth Form Seat of the Chapel, on which I had sat as Captain of the Oppidans, and had carved my name most distinctly during Divine Service. The Chapel had lately been restored, and the old seats removed, and I had secured this fragment of the past.

On the 27th took place the great Eton-Memorial Dinner at the Hôtel Métropole. My son was there as well as myself. This was the 450th Anniversary: how well I recollect the 400th! A great many speeches were made, perhaps the best by the late Chief Justice Coleridge. I suggested to the Chairman, the Marquis of Londonderry, that one toast should be to the honour of those still alive, who had been flogged by Dr. Keate. I offered to propose it, and a man named Alston agreed to second it, as we had both been flogged by Keate, who resigned the Head-Mastership at Election, 1834; but the Chairman thought, that we had better not, as our time was fully occupied.

A great trouble arose in the Church Missionary Society Committee with regard to the treatment by the European Missionaries on the Niger of the Native Agents. I could not stand it, and it led to my declining to be re-elected to the post of Chairman of the African Sub-Committee, which I had held for many years, and withdrawing my name from the Committee in the following April. I shall enter fully on this subject at the close of the narrative of this Decade under the head of Missions.

On August 8, accompanied by my wife and daughter, I started across France to Switzerland to attend the International Geographical Congress at Berne. I caught a cold and had an attack of Asthma at Rheims. I have already described the paper, which I read. I had to keep quiet in my Hotel, and I was very uncomfortable. I had all the books with me connected with the Emin Pacha Relief Expedition, and I occupied

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series III, pp. 273, 386.

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my solitary hours with preparing material for my attack on the conduct of Henry Stanley and some of his companions. On the 18th the Congress and the National Anniversary Festival were over, and we passed on to Interlachen, where I found quiet and rest. I found my way to Lucerne, where such a terrible lassitude fell upon me, that I had to consult a Medical Man: however, I was able to pay a visit to a Swiss friend at Winterthúr. Thence we made our way to Treves on the 9th of September, and there I underwent a fourth attack of Spasmodic Asthma, and for some time it seemed, that Death must come! the first was at Hull on my return from the North Cape in 1884; the second at Ashridge Park during the visit of the Shah in 1889; the third at a dinner party at the Métropole Hotel given by John Cook; and this was the fourth. We had visited Treves for the purpose of seeing the Holy Coat, which was exhibited this year only after the lapse of fifty years. On the day after our arrival we joined the procession of the Romish devotees from the neighbourhood, and passed slowly round the open space in front of the Cathedral, till our time came to enter the building and pass by the object of veneration. I have described the whole in my Book on "The Shrines." We had accomplished the whole comfortably, and got back to lunch. While at table I was suddenly seized by the Asthma: I went quietly up to my bedroom, loosened my dress, and stood patiently. My wife and daughter supplied the usual remedies, but for a long period no relief came. I had resigned myself, but it seemed hard thus to pass away, with the noisy processions of devotees under the windows, and in a strange land. Suddenly there was a crack, and I recovered myself so entirely, that I was able to drive out that afternoon, and visit the Roman ruins. I was allowed a little longer time; but I made a covenant myself never to go abroad again. My time for touring was over: it had exceeded fifty years. During my stay at Brussels I attended the Congress of the Roman Catholic Church at Matines,

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, pp. 273, 476.

"The Shrines," 2nd ed. (1890).

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On September 19 I rejoiced to find myself at home again. In Appendix IX, I enumerate in Chronological order my Foreign Tours in Europe, Asia, and Africa, over a period of fifty years. They were of incalculable advantage to me in my seeking after knowledge, as well as the greatest possible pleasure. My favourite motto is:

Πόλλων ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

From foreign travel come large-heartedness, a freedom from Chauvinism, and falsely called Patriotism, which asserts, that *your own* country is the best in everything; and the acquaintance with foreigners is very sweet and instructive. I regret that I never visited America: perhaps I should have been disappointed, as there is no Ancient History there. I think of the story of the little American girl's remark to her Mother, who in Westminster Abbey had asked the Verger the age of the building. On hearing that it had been built 800 years the child remarked: "That cannot be true, for that was the time of the Indians all over the States."

I preached my first sermon as Diocesan Reader in the pulpit of St. Andrew's, Kentish Town, on the text, "Are there few to be saved?" I was in good voice, and felt very grateful to accomplish my twenty minutes, which I never intend to exceed. In December I preached again at St. Peter's, Stepney, on the "Duty of Missions."

1892.

A capital book exists, Bagster's "Bible in every Land," 1860, in which the History of every existing Translation of the Bible is given in detail. It has been of immense interest and usefulness to me in my studies, and my desire has been to assist the publication of a new Edition brought up to date, as during the last forty years the number of Translations has doubled. For this purpose I wrote a paper showing the object, and circulated it. I interviewed the Publishers, Messrs. Bagster, and found that terms could be arranged. In order to facilitate the work, I collected all the Ethnical, Political, and Linguistic details, necessary for the indication of each Language, entering them on

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separate foolscap sheets, and arranging the sheets in the scientific order according to Regions, and Linguistic Families, in which they should appear. I settled the nomenclature, and mode of spelling. It is not everyone, who could have done this work, or would have given up hours to do it; but the work was done in vain, for the scheme has never been carried out, as the selfish paid Official, in whose department the work lay, could not find time to carry it out, and would not let anyone else undertake it. Oh! that in such works, and in all works, men would recollect, that it matters not who does the work, so long as *the work is done well.* We have to wait till this Official dies, or retires, before a very necessary work is completed. I shall probably never see it accomplished. I merely record this as a warning to others.

I went down in February to Gloucester and Tiverton, and elsewhere, for the Simultaneous Meetings of the Church Missionary Society: they proved to be my last: at the age of 71 repose is needed.

In March I preached as Diocesan Reader in Christ Church, Endle Street. It was at this time, that the idea of writing a Life-Memoir was suggested to me, and for that purpose I steadily read through the fourteen Volumes of my Journal, which then existed, making brief notes of what seemed worth recording each year. I took steps also to tabulate all that would be required to help me in the great task, and set in order all the material required for reference.

In April I attended my last Committee of the Church Missionary Society. A Religious Committee is not a suitable arena for polemical discussions or party-quarrels. I had served the Society for many years on Committee, and had joined it in 1843 as a subscriber in India, just fifty years ago. I could not lend assent, even by my presence, to things that were done: so I made my bow. As "Honorary Governor for life for services rendered," I still remained a Member of the Committee and an Annual Subscriber to the Society. In the seven years, which have since passed away, all those who differed from me have died or retired, and many of my suggestions have been carried out, but the time has

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passed for my attending Committees. I enumerate the points on which I differed.

1. The insane and foolish annual attacks on the Government of India for their wise and prudent policy with regard to the Opium-Trade betwixt India and China.

2. The stupid attacks on that social Custom of India, which prevails in every country, of 'Caste.' No English Missionary, however humble his origin, would allow his daughter to marry a Native Indian Pastor of noble birth: yet this is 'Caste' of the rankest kind.

3. The early marriage of Missionaries, entailing the waste of thousands of pounds collected for sacred purposes, thrown away in the support of children, who ought never to have been born, and the expense of maintaining hundreds of useless wives and widows, and the passage-money to and fro.

4. Constant appeal to the Arm of the Flesh to support the Missionaries in Foreign Countries, Turkey, Africa, or China, forgetting the precepts of the great Master.

5. Waste of money by careless expenditure, and constant appeals to make up deficits, which arise in consequence.

6. Over-centralization in the Home-Committee, though the time has come to enlarge the powers of the Local Committees in the Field, and give greater freedom to the Native Churches, in whom now no confidence is placed. If the British Power were swept out of India, the Native Christian Church would disappear, as it is a mere creature dependent for its bread on England, instead of being self-supporting and self-governing.

7. Cruel Treatment of Native Missionary Agents on the Niger.

8. Sensationalism, and something resembling Hypocrisy.

9. Annual Report always recording success, suppressing notice of failures; ridiculous praise of some of the agents; all suppression of mention of the gross immorality of others, which has been a scandal in East Equatorial Africa.

10. Want of self-consecration on the part of the Agents: men

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throwing up employment, just when they are beginning to be useful, if they have anything better offered in England, or consulting the wishes of their wives, or the advantages of their children. What a contrast do the Roman Catholic Missionaries present!

11. Usurpation of power by paid Officials in such numbers, that the Members of the Committee cannot carry their views. Why have paid servants any vote at all? Why are they allowed to join in the debate? This would not be allowed in any Secular Society.

12. Refusal to admit women to be Members of Committee. In all Secular Committees, such as Hospitals, Parochial Guardians, etc., the assistance of women is welcomed, and absolutely necessary. Moreover, half the population of the world consists of women, and half the number of the Missionary Agents consists of women. And women can be found with leisure and experience. But stupid old Clergy absolutely forbid any women to take part in any Committee.

At a conference in the District of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, on March 28, I had spoken out strongly for the admission of women to the same duties as are performed by laymen. The clergy present strenuously opposed it. At my last Meeting of the General Committee of the Church Missionary Society I, after due notice, moved that women are not disqualified from being elected as Members of the Committee. A fat old Clergyman from the Country, who knew nothing whatever of Missions, a subject which had been the study of my life, moved the Previous Question: it was supported by the gang of 'ten and sixpenny' Clerical Members, who always support the Honorary Secretary, and I was outvoted. I made my bow to the Committee, and took my leave just seven years ago, stating distinctly, that I should never again attend that Committee, until women were members of it.

On the invitation of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, with my wife and daughter I visited that City. The chief object was to speak on the subject of the affairs of the London Jews Society, as there was some friction between the London Committee, and its Irish Auxiliaries. We succeeded in healing it. I spoke also at a Meeting of the British

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and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society. All the Members of the Synod of the Irish Episcopal Protestant Church were in Dublin. Lord Plunket held great receptions, and in the daytime the proceedings of the Synod were most interesting. I was admitted into the Episcopal Gallery to sit among the Bishops, while the Clergy and the Laity were in the centre of the house below. I sat beside the Venerable Primate of Ireland, Dr. Knox, who died soon afterwards: his successor, who was present then as Bishop of Cork, has also died since, and the same fate has met our good, kind host, Lord Plunket.

In May I preached as Diocesan Reader at St. Philip's, Waterloo Place. By a singular chance my name was printed among the Preachers for Sunday in *The Times* of the previous day. Could I have dreamed of such a thing a few years earlier!

On the 9th I attended for the last time the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, of which I had been so long a Member. I began a paper on the "Adolescence of the Native Church." It is a misfortune to form one's opinions always about ten years in advance of one's contemporaries: yet so it is. If one lives long enough, it gives satisfaction to see one's proposed Reforms quietly adopted. Stupid conservatism is the great blemish of Secretaries, who have been thirty years in office, and of Members who have not studied the great Problem before them.

New work was pouring in upon me. The Earl of Stamford urged me to join the Committee of the Rio Pongas Mission in West Africa, a poor but interesting enterprise. Lord Plunket, the Archbishop of Dublin, insisted on my joining the Committee of the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Association. At the same time, at the request of Canon Jacob, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) appointed me to be a Member of the Board of Missions of that Province, and the Secretary of the Sub-Committee of 'Missionary Literature.'

In June we had the work of Elections upon us, and I had to go to Belton to canvass and speak for my nephew Henry Cockayne Cust, who was standing for a portion of the County of Lincoln, the Stamford Division. I had the pleasure, at Carlton Scroope, of hearing my

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son, Robert Henry Hobart Cust, make his maiden-speech, and very creditably.

In August we moved, as usual, to Eastbourne. On September 1 I found that my Journal, now in fourteen volumes, had lasted unbroken for fifty years: 1842, September 1, to August 31, 1892. By good luck all the volumes have survived. I had intended to go as Delegate of the Royal Geographical Society to an Italian Congress at Genoa, in honour of Christopher Columbus, whose Centenary it was. At the last moment I had to give it up, and sent my second daughter, who is one of the few lady-Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society, to take my place. Each country was represented by a speaker in honour of Columbus. She was cordially received, made a speech in English as the representative of England, at the close of which the Duke of Genoa, who presided, walked across the Hall, and shook her by the hand with complimentary remarks. A Russian lady also spoke for Russia.

In October I visited Belton with my son to be present at the reopening of the Church after repairs. Some of the Family Monuments had been moved from their well-remembered places on the wall, but on the whole the appearance was improved. I and my son had undertaken another matter. My cousin, Earl Brownlow, had given us leave to have a series of photographs taken, during his absence in India, of the chief Family-Pictures, at my expense: so we went carefully over the house, selected those that seemed suitable, and the work was carried out thoroughly. We sold a great many copies to members of the Family.

I wrote a Pamphlet, and prepared a Map, on the subject of our unwise occupation of U-Ganda. By favour of the Earl of Northbrook I had an interview with the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir E. Grey, but it was of no use. Millions were to be thrown away, and a dangerous addition made to the Provinces of the British Empire. I had an interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Marquess of Ripon, on the same subject.

Some of us gave addresses on Sunday-Evenings, after Church-hours, to magnificent congregations collected in the Vestry Hall, Chelsea.

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The idea was suggested by a Nonconformist Pastor, and it was eminently successful. One of my subjects was "The Duty and Blessing of Private Devotion."

In November I went down to Cambridge, putting up at the "Bull" Inn, and gave three addresses at Ridley-Hall, Henry Martyn's Hall, and the Town-Hall, on "Bible-Diffusion." On the last evening, as I was resting, it occurred to me that my time for giving addresses on Public Platforms was at an end, and I conceived the first idea of my volume, published 1892, called "Normal Addresses on Bible-Diffusion," to assist speakers in their addresses who are not prepared for the subject. If I can do nothing more myself I can at least help others to carry on the blessed work.

A painful occurrence took place in the last week of the year. A cousin of my own, a maiden-lady in the sixties, lived near me. Her servant came one morning and told me, that her mistress was lying dead on the floor of the breakfast-room. I hurried to the spot. There she was, exactly as she had fallen. I called in the nearest Doctor, as she had no regular medical attendant. Life was extinct. I informed the Police, and there was a Coroner's Inquest, at which I was summoned to give evidence. It was a great trial to me, and another reminder to be ready, for we know not the hour.

During the last three years my reading had been chiefly on Theology, Church History, Higher Criticism, and Missionary Reports. I seemed to have dropped my other subject, 'Language,' altogether. My file of the Languages of America, ready for disposal, had remained in its box, unnoticed. The Languages of Oceania have had to remain satisfied with a brief sketch, not a volume. Great subjects, such as a sketch of the Continuity of Bible-Diffusion, and of the Evangelization of the World, had been pressed upon me. Numerous periodicals, such as *The Churchman*, *Religious Review of Reviews*, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, *Bible Society Reporter*, *Afrique Explorée* of Geneva, and others were laid open to me, and my file of "Work in Progress" had grown beyond all bounds.

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1893.

I notice the Literary work of this year before detailing the events. A new claimant for my pen had arisen. My nephew, Henry John Cockayne Cust, M.P., had been appointed Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*: he was good enough to admit papers, which I sent to him, and to send work to be done. I sent also at the request of my son, who resides at Stamford, a series of papers for the *Stamford Mercury* on Russian Atrocities, the Opium Traffic, Honest Poverty, the Slave Trade, Liquor Traffic, Prisons, Early Marriages of Natives of India, the Garden Tomb at Jerusalem, and the division of Queensland: these represented a great variety of subjects, in all of which I was interested. To the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* I every quarter contributed Obituary Notices of distinguished Scholars, and Reviews of Linguistic Books. I reviewed the Official Report of the late Census of India from a general statistical point of view for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the Religious aspect of the subject for the *Religious Review of Reviews*; and in addition, I wrote on the Indian Census as regards Women, for a Periodical called *The Women of India*.

Notwithstanding my recorded intention to give up making tours in the country to deliver addresses, I found myself at Stamford giving addresses for the Bible-Society in four different towns. I went down to Halifax on a Deputation for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and, as my cousin the Dean of York was also on this Deputation, I heard myself alluded to as "Dr. Cust of the Canterbury Province," and my cousin the Dean as "Dr. Cust of the York Province." Then I had to be at the Episcopal Palace of Salisbury to attend a general Conference of Missionary Agents, and to deliver a rather strong address. I had good health all the year, and five great works in progress:

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, pp. 199, 404, 731, 733, 767.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, pp. 163, 166, 171.

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(1) Collecting Materials for my Life-Memoir: in the Press 1899.
(2) Printing a Collection of Essays on the whole subject of Missions, called the "Gospel-Message": published 1896.
(3) The Continuity of Evangelization since the time of our Lord: still in manuscript.
(4) The Features, which appear in all Religions before the Christian era: published 1895.
(5) Missionary Methods: published 1894.

Being invited by the Congress of the World at Chicago to contribute a paper, I prepared an Essay in continuation of my "Languages of Africa," published in 1883, on the Progress of African Philology up to the year 1893. I had been invited to come over to Chicago, and take a part in the Proceedings. I was appointed Member of the Advising Council of Congress of Ethnologists, the World's Congress, Chicago, 1893. My Essay was published in the English and French Languages. It is now, alas! another seven years behind date, 1899.

I had in the beginning of this year to consider my testamentary arrangements. I prepared a Distribution-List of all my Miscellaneous Property, and tried to make things easy for my Executors. It is a comfort to think, that there are no complications, no hazardous investments, no bills unpaid. It has been part of my unswerving system from 1843, when I commenced managing my own affairs, to the present year, fifty years, to keep regular accounts, and pay my way, and keep clear of extravagance and speculation.

Fatigue overpowers me now to such an extent, that I take rest for half an hour on the sofa every afternoon, except on the days when I am in Committee, and then I sometimes get a nap while a dull member is prosing away; but "Non omnibus dormio."

I published a second Pamphlet in defence, even justification, of the Opium-Traffic. In May I record that I had completed the Annual Abstracts of my Journal, Vols. I to XIV, fifty years and a half, to assist me in my Life-Memoir. Pressure of other work has compelled it to stand

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over for six years, and I have now had to abstract the narration of six additional years, recorded in Vol. XV of the Journal.

Another subject interested me, the Catalogue of my (1) Linguistic and (2) Religious Libraries. I engaged a trained clerk from a bookseller's Office to make the Catalogue, the books being grouped into sections. Now I had a deep debt of gratitude to pay to several Public Libraries, and I was desirous that some of my books should find their place in the British Museum by purchase, so I sent the manuscript list to the Librarian, and thus sold a good many. A copy of the list was then sent to a great Bookseller at Leipzig, who relieved me of a good many. I wrote thus in the Preface to my Printed Catalogue: "As my life's "work is done, I have no further occasion for my books. I regret that "I have not had time to reduce to writing my notes on the Languages of "America; the material is ready, but time is wanting. I have disposed "of all the remainder at different periods, as far as I worked. Many of "these books were sent to me by Scholars, and Missionaries, from every "part of the world. Books were meant to be read, and made accessible "to Scholars. I should be glad to see these books made available. "I seek no profit, but I require ready money for the prices fixed. When "the Catalogue was prepared, there were books in 178 languages, but "a great many books have been sold, and sixty presented to the India "Office, Royal Geographical and Royal Asiatic Societies."

The death of my dear life-friend, Sir George Campbell, affected me much. We were at Haileybury College together in the same term, and our careers had been side by side in India. He was able to gather all the fruits of his excellent service; I had to be contented with the satisfaction of having done my duty. He had barely reached seventy years; I have been permitted to enjoy nearly seven years longer. I wrote his

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 297.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 324.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 328.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 232.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 129.

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Obituary Notice for the *Pall Mall Gazette* with extreme sorrow. Unquestionably he and another friend, still spared to us, Sir Richard Temple, were the most illustrious of my contemporaries in India: excellent public officers, highly esteemed literary authors, Members of the House of Commons, they had held the highest posts and deserved them. In the same Periodical I inserted, under the title of "James Thomason: a Peaceful Ruler," a eulogy of that great and good man, to whose advice and example so many are indebted. No honours reached him, nor was he permitted to enjoy the boon of a serene old age. I quote my words:

"And yet the very name of this saintly, beneficent man is almost for-"gotten in the Regions, which he loved so well, and was never recognized "or known in Great Britain, but many of his Ideas, and schemes, have "had a wider development than he could have imagined. His followers, "devoted to him, occupied the Panjáb on its annexation. All over India "his Educational policy is adopted.

'Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war.'

"He was the greatest Conqueror of the Century, for by his policy Millions "of acres have been brought under cultivation, Millions of men have "settled down to quiet agricultural or commercial life, and the greatest "Conqueror is the man, who has done the greatest good to his con-"temporaries."

He had not the cheap honour of knighthood. Warren Hastings had the same good fortune when he returned from the Government of India; and in ancient days Marcus Tullius Cicero, on his return from the Government of Cilicia, was in the same category: "Moins decoré, plus distingué." "Meritorum satis: honorum parum."

On July 22 Earl and Countess Brownlow celebrated their twenty-fifth wedding-day by a banquet, to which were summoned the members of their two noble families, "Cust and Talbot." I had the honour of sitting on the left hand of the Countess, as the oldest representative of her

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 129.

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Husband's Family by his Father, while the Marquess of Northampton sat on her right hand as the representative of her Husband's Family by his Mother. It was a most interesting gathering of Family relatives.

In this year my valued friend, and in former years my official subordinate, Sir Charles Aitchison, presented me with two beautiful bronze images of Gautama Buddha. He had sent for them to a friend in Burma, as he heard me once express a wish for such a memorial of the greatest, wisest, and most holy, of mankind. My dear friend, in his letter now before me, added the words, "in memory of old days, and many kindnesses received at your hands." How grateful I ought to feel, that I was fortunate enough to win the favour and condescending kindness of all in authority over me, and the tender love, and kind appreciation, of many distinguished men, who began their career under me: men who rose to high Office, while their master sank away into obscurity. My poor dear friend died not long after making this present: in fact, the mortal disease was upon him, when he wrote his letter. He had a short time previously published a Monograph for the Oxford Series of the Rulers of India on our revered Master Lord Lawrence, which is thus alluded to in one of the newspapers of the time: "For among the men, who have helped to make or consolidate "our Indian Empire scarcely one is better known to the average reader "than John Lawrence. It is not so long since he was taken from us, and "his life has been written with completeness as well as sympathy. But "Sir Charles knows the Panjáb thoroughly, and has made this little book "all the more interesting by his account of the Panjáb under John "Lawrence and his subordinates. Although Dr. R. N. Cust is still alive, "the group of men trained by John Lawrence is fast passing away. It "is meet and right, that their services to the British Empire and to the "people of India should be popularized, and that is just what this volume "will do. Whilst outliving a life of singular devotion and magnificent "results, it indicates, without exaggeration or note of triumph, the "advantages which British rule has conferred upon the Panjáb."

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 438.

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In July I preached, as Diocesan Reader, in the open-air Pulpit in the outer wall of Holy Trinity Church, Marylebone. The noise of the cabs and omnibuses is a sad distraction. A few days afterwards I preached in St. Mary's Church, Bryanston Square, on the subject of Missions. I used for many years to employ a young woman to paste up annually my album of scraps from newspapers, etc. She seemed rather unwell on a visit this month, and, though quite young, died a few days afterwards. "Lord, teach us to number our days."

My motion in the British and Foreign Bible Committee, to admit women as eligible to a seat in the Committee, if a majority were pleased to elect a candidate, was rejected. Sooner or later it must come. Some years ago I carried the measure to employ Bible-Women in India, and record the names of women who had rendered the cause good service, in spite of opposition. They are entered as "Honorary Governors for Life."

August 9. To Mickleham to visit my dear eldest son's grave. Twenty-two years have passed away, and I have learned to feel, that the Lord doeth well. A few days after my four surviving children, and my one grandchild, dined with me. They are enough. An over large family is a very great misfortune.

August 14. To my old home and study at Eastbourne. I had laid before myself a course of quiet reading, and a series of Essays to be written, and I returned to London, on 1st October, with a great deal of good work accomplished.

October 7. I paid a visit with my wife and daughter to Oxford, putting up at the Randolph Hotel. We saw a great many friends, but what gratified me most was, to see in the Bodleian Library-Catalogue two folio pages occupied with the names of my works presented to the Library.

October 15. I preached in the Workhouse, Chelsea, for the Chaplain. I still had strength enough to go on Deputation to Rochester for the Bible-Society. I seriously considered this year the expediency of giving up some of my Committees. While I write this, I am six years older,

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and have still my eighteen Committees in full force, and if I attempted to withdraw from any one, from my colleagues would come a cry: "Not this! Not this!" So I go on to the last. It is a comfort in old age to be of use. I withdrew my name from the Travellers' Club, to which I had belonged forty years, for I really never had occasion to enter its door; and I withdrew my name from Lincoln's Inn for the same reason.

1894.

I commenced the process of setting my intellectual house in order, by clearing out and destroying papers no longer of use, going through my precious series of Carton-Boxes, which contained all my materials for composing Books or Essays on particular subjects, arranging my Note-books, Extract Books, etc.

During this year my chief publications were:

I. Two Political Pamphlets regarding Africa.
   A. The Ma-Tabéle Scandal, of which five hundred copies were distributed among Members of Parliament and others.
   B. The U-Ganda Scandal, widely distributed.

II. Missionary Warnings for Twentieth Century.
   A. Ancient Religions of the World.
   B. Disabilities of Native Christians.
   C. Difficulties of Missions.
   D. Prospects of the Future.
   E. Trials to which converts are exposed.
   F. Adolescence of a Native Church.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 330.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 251.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 592.
"Methods of Evangelization," 1894.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 457.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 198.

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III. French Translation of the Progress of African Philology, sent last year to Chicago.

I also prepared a Book on the "Methods of Evangelization," which occupied much time.

I visited Cambridge as Deputation for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and spoke at a large Meeting, following the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott), and followed by the late Bishop Selwyn, of Selwyn College.

My dear friend General Robert Maclagan, whom I had known so long, and who was precisely my age, died, and I was elected to succeed him as Honorary Lay Secretary to the Board of Missions of the Canterbury Province, which post I still hold. Canon Jacob, now Bishop of Newcastle, was my colleague as Clerical Secretary.

We had this year a Missionary Conference of the Church of England in St. James's Hall. I had taken a great part in the Organization of it, and read a paper on "The Necessity of Refusing Baptism to Polygamists," and spoke at length on the subject of "The Independence of Native Churches." My book on "Missionary Methods" was dedicated to the Members of the Congress.

It was proposed to hold a Geographical International Congress in London in 1895. I was elected a Member of the Committee of Organization, having been a Member of the Congresses at Venice in 1882, and Berne in 1891.

The Tenth Oriental International Congress was to take place this year at Geneva. I felt that it would be imprudent for me to attend it at my advanced age. I enrolled myself as a Member, sent my daughter

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 176.
"Gospel-Message," p. 288.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 408.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 530.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 171.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 493.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 601.

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as my representative, and contributed an Essay on "The Ancient Religions of the World," in the English and French Languages.

In April I attended, as usual, the Diocesan Conference of London, being a Member of the General Purposes Committee, which settled the subjects to be discussed. A new periodical had come into existence, called the *Religious Review of Reviews,* edited by my friend Canon Fleming, and to it I contributed a series of Papers:

(1) Papal Bull on the Study of the Bible.
(2) Census of British Indian Religions.
(3) Great and Inestimable Gift of Self-Sacrifice.
(4) "Iphigenia in Tauris" as acted at Cambridge.

A subject of great interest occupied my thoughts this year. The Province of U-Ganda in Central Equatorial Africa had, in spite of warnings, been occupied by British Authorities, but the Missionaries of the Church of Rome were all French, and there was a constant struggle going on, half political, half religious, as notoriously the French Missionary is as much a champion of his Country as of his Religion. In British India we do not allow this, and leave is given to Missionaries of all Nationalities to conduct their spiritual operations entirely free of all interference of the State, but the least meddling on their part in matters political, or municipal, is steadily repressed. As a fact, the Romish Missionaries in India give no trouble at all. It occurred to me and others, that the wise policy would be to induce Cardinal Vaughan to start in U-Ganda a purely English Mission of the Church of Rome, headed by an English Bishop trained in India. This was done, and I had the greatest pleasure in welcoming the Rev. Dr. O'Hanlon, a Missionary in India, who had been selected. I introduced him to the chief authorities, supplied him with books, and he thoroughly understood the policy, which ought to be adopted, viz., entire Spiritual independence and absolute abstinence from Mundane politics. As British subjects the Missionaries of the Church of Rome would receive full license and protection. I am glad to find that this policy has answered well, and I read

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with satisfaction in *The Times* lately the following notice: "Cardinal Vaughan, who has concluded his visit to the Pope, has arrived at Venice from Loreto. His Eminence will arrive in London on Tuesday. The Cardinal is making arrangements to send a number of English priests to the Sudan to take the place of the Italian priests who were there during the Mahdi's *régime*." Thus all political friction will disappear.

My attention had been called to the subject of the Higher Criticism of Ancient Documents. By slow but gradual progress I was able to accept the sober and well-digested views of Canon Driver, Regius Professor of Oxford, and Dr. Farrar, now Dean of Canterbury. I quite saw all the difficulties and dangers, but

"*Μεγάλη ἡ ἀληθεῖα, καὶ ὑπερισχύει.*"

The next generation, and all reasonable people of the present generation, will admit, that the mediæval traditions must be laid aside. I myself have for some time collected in one folio, notes and extracts with a view of preparing an Essay on a "Via Media," but there seems doubt whether I shall ever find time for dealing with the subject.

In July and August I took services at Chelsea Workhouse on two Sundays. I went down to Bury St. Edmunds for a Diocesan Conference of Missions in the Diocese of Ely, and spoke at some length.

Another subject occupied my serious attention, and much time. I had been wielding the pen, and publishing my writings, since the year 1840, now fifty-five years, and lately each year gave birth to voluminous matter. I wished to make a chronological list of my printed writings, and lectures, of all kinds. This gradually grew into the bulky list of writings collected in Appendix I to this Life-Memoir, exceeding twelve hundred in number. In the course of this process I came upon material for a Fifth Series of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, the editing of which occupied all next year: all printed matter on Missionary Subjects, which had accumulated, I distributed to Training Colleges, young Missionaries, and Students. I was determined that some truths

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should be brought home to the readers of the next generation. With the present generation many foolish fads will disappear.

I gave a lecture in St. Paul's Cathedral Chapter House to a select audience on the Difficulties of Missions (*C* of my "Missionary Warnings"). It gave offence to some: unpleasant truths were stated. It is my duty to speak the truth. At a Meeting of the Assyrian Mission at the Church House, Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided, following my speech during the debate, remarked that "I was the greatest living authority on the subject of Missions." So my duty is clear. I am not a paid Secretary of a Society, or the father of a Missionary in the field. I am an all-round reader in the four great European languages, and the next generation will be grateful to me. I get letters from individual Missionaries in the field, thanking me for the exposure of some errors. The Romish Church was encouraged in its absurd practices, because nobody dared to expose them. No class of men require more constant criticism of their doings and writings than the Clergy.

I went down in December to witness the performance of the beautiful Greek play, "Iphigenia in Tauris," at Cambridge. It so happened that Archbishop Benson went down by the same train, and we conversed on the subject of the Religious views of Euripides, as evidenced in his remarkable Dramas. I had gone through the whole play in the Greek with my youngest daughter to prepare her for the performance, which was most delightful.

December 3. My life was nearly cut short by a fall out of an omnibus at the very door of Westminster Hospital. I was picked up by the Hospital-Porter, and carried in and examined. No bones were broken, but I received a severe shock. I was able, however, to pull myself together and walk round to the India Office, where I had a Committee to attend on the subject of the "Disabilities of Native Christians." I had pain some days, but nothing came of it. The Lord be praised! This was pretty well for 73.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 592.

"Gospel-Message," p. 412.

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My Committee-work, and my literary work, were becoming too much for me. In addition to my fugitive pieces for this or that periodical I had three great works in gestation:

(1) "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, 1895.

(2) "Gospel-Message," 1896.

(3) "Common Features, which appear in all forms of Religious Belief," 1895.

I was invited by the Kilburn and Hampstead School-Association to give a lecture, not to exceed half an hour, in one of the Galleries of the British Museum, on "The Ancient Religions of the World." I gladly accepted the offer, and a large audience attended, all standing, and the lecture was printed in the Journal of the Association. I had to write a separate lecture, as I could not make use of the Essay prepared for the Scholars of "An Oriental Congress at Geneva," and deliver it to a School-Association. I had to handle the same material in a slightly different way. I wished to instruct without causing pain.

I cleared off at the close of this and every year the accumulation of Pamphlets and Books, which I did not care to keep, to the Public Library of Chelsea Parish, where they were gratefully received.

1895.

In this year I published "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV. I reviewed Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and wrote an Obituary Notice in the same Journal of my revered friend Sir Henry Rawlinson.

I had imagined, that I had finished my connection with the Board of Guardians at Chelsea, but to my surprise I was co-opted as an additional Member, and am in that position still.

The pouring in daily of Proofs, first or second, twice a week, is a serious matter, as books of reference have to be consulted, and matters

" Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 623.

" Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 457.

" Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 136.

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of doubt thought out. The Catalogue of my Oriental Books, which was then in the Press, required careful revision in every line. Sleepless nights were now the feature of my life, but painless, so I must be contented.

The papers, which had survived in my Cabinets from my Eton and Haileybury days, and the College of Fort William in Calcutta, I had not the heart to destroy, so had them bound in Quarto Volumes, labelled "Reliquiæ," stating year, subject, and place.

I took up an interesting subject in sending a paper to *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* on "Twenty-five Years after India." It is printed *in extenso* at pp. 110–117 of this "Life-Memoir": the object being to induce Anglo-Indians after their retirement to do something to justify their existence, and to evidence their gratitude to God, who had not left them to fill an Indian Cemetery.

I had applications from the Principals of several Missionary Training Colleges, to let them have one hundred copies each of my paper in the *Religious Review of Reviews* on "The Great Gift of Self-Sacrifice." It gave me great pleasure to comply with their requests as a special offering for the use of the Students.

I undertook an important and laborious duty in compiling this year a Quinquennial Report of the Translations of the Bible brought into circulation since the Publication of my Catalogue of Bible-Translations, published in 1890. My desire is, that there should be a permanent arrangement, and for this purpose I associated with myself a most able fellow-labourer, the Rev. J. Gordon-Watt, in order that the process may be carried on at the close of each 'lustrum.' We have already reached four hundred real, *bonâ-fide* entries.

The new Romish Bishop of U-Ganda, Monsignor O'Hanlon, called upon me. He had been consecrated at Rome: he showed me his Diploma, and the map of his diocese. I have great confidence, that he will carry out the policy described by me at p. 223. I was invited to pay a visit to Mill-Hill-College to witness the ceremony of his Farewell

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series IV, p. 493.

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Service. Cardinal Vaughan preached an excellent sermon: then the Bishop and his three companions stood with their face to the audience, and all the males present went up to them, knelt down and kissed their feet, according to the verse "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings" (Isaiah, lii, 7). Then the kiss of Peace went round, which I managed to escape, as I was anxious to get back to London for another engagement. As I was pacing the platform, and expecting the train, suddenly Cardinal Vaughan appeared: he was hurrying back also; we exchanged a few words, and he told me that the reason for his abrupt return to London was, that he was leaving that night for Calais, and Orleans, as *he had to take a part in the Canonization of Joan of Arc on the morrow.* I had looked upon him as a wise and sensible man, but a gulf seemed now to yawn between us, when he told me of his ridiculous project to attempt, by the aid of masses, and the Pope's Bull, to alter the position in the next World of a poor girl, who lived her life over four hundred years ago. The rank absurdity struck me more than the impiety.

At the request of a German colleague in the Bible Society I gave an address to a German Young Men's Christian Association in Finsbury Square. The subject assigned to me was "The attitude which a Missionary should occupy to a Non-Christian people as regards their Religion, their customs, and their prejudices." He should not bitterly attack social customs, which were neither immoral nor illegal. He ought to do Christian things in a Christian way.

In June we had a Meeting of the United Boards of Missions of Canterbury and York. Bishop Selwyn, our new Clerical Secretary, conducted it, and it was impressive. As the representative of our last Secretary, Bishop Jacob, I had to take a leading part in the proceedings.

I had an agreeable trip with a party to Bradfield College to witness the performance of the Greek play, by Euripides, of "Alcestis." The whole scene was delightful, and I could not praise it too highly in the

"Gospel-Message," p. 187.

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description which I published of it for the *Pall Mall Gazette.* I went down to speak at a Diocesan Conference for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Huntingdon, without fatigue, and, indeed, with much enjoyment.

In July I attended a most interesting Meeting in St. James's Palace: the Prince of Wales was in the Chair, and by his side was his nephew the Duke of Sparta, heir to the Crown of Greece. Both spoke in support of the British School of Archæology at Athens. I met many friends, and heard several remarkable speeches, among which was one from the great Artist, Lord Leighton, who died very soon afterwards.

The International Geographical Congress met this month in the Imperial Institute. I had been one of the Organization Committee, and my second daughter took an active part in the duty of looking after the foreigners. She received a special vote of thanks in my hearing, which was a great pleasure to me. The proceedings were very interesting, and Berlin was selected as the place for the next Meeting after the lapse of four years. At the close, a luncheon was given at the Hôtel Métropole by Prince Roland Bonaparte, to which I was invited. I had a few words with Henry Stanley, the Explorer, whom I met there. We made the acquaintance of several American Congressists, who called upon us.

My Catalogue of Oriental Books had been circulated, and many persons came to buy books, pay the cash, and go off with them. It gave me rather a pang to see old friends taken away. However, books are meant to be read. I had had my use out of them. It is better, that they should go on to others rather than lie idly on my shelves.

We moved to Eastbourne in August. It was to be the last time to visit this dear place, and occupy the familiar home, in which I had read and written so much. But it was to be.

During our stay here, accompanied by my two daughters, I attended a Meeting of the British Association at Ipswich. The kindest arrangements had been made for our reception by Mr. Cobbold, the Banker.

" Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 539.

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His sister-in-law received me and my second daughter into her quiet house, where I had a good time: in a hotel I should have fallen ill. Mr. Cobbold invited my youngest daughter to his beautiful villa at Felixstowe. I attended the opening Meeting, which was very grand, and several of the Sections. In one of them, of which my great friend Professor Petrie, the Egyptologist, was Chairman, I read a carefully prepared "Protest against the unnecessary uprooting of Ancient Civilization in Asia and North Africa." I and one other Member had been present at the last Meeting of the British Association in Ipswich in 1851. Prince Albert presided at it, and I saw him write his name in an album in the Library. I went to the Library, and ferreted out the book, and found my own name there also. At the final Meeting this year I was called upon to second a vote of thanks to the President, the late Sir Douglas Galton, and I alluded to the Meeting of 1851. I mentioned the names of the illustrious men present in that year, and I expressed a hope, that some of the younger members of the present Congress would, forty-five years hence, at the next Ipswich Congress, pay a like compliment to the President, and Lord Rayleigh, and the other distinguished Scientists now in that Hall. We had several delightful garden-parties. We visited Norwich, and drove over to Shrublands Park, the residence of my late uncle, Sir William Middleton, and to Helmingham, the seat of Lord Tollemache. We had fine weather, kind friends, and a good time. I made an excursion to Felixstowe, going down the River Orwell. With my second daughter I visited the old house in Ipswich, in which Mrs. Trimmer, the authoress, lived: she was great-great-grandmother to my daughter, and died in 1810; but the rooms are quite unchanged.

On the 30th September I bid farewell to Eastbourne for ever, grateful for the many happy hours spent since 1864, when I visited it for the first time in deep sorrow, thirty-one years ago.

I preached and read the Service in the Chelsea Workhouse twice in October, and preached at Bromley Parish Church, Mile End Road, and to a special gathering of men, on "The Dignity of Labour." I was

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 185.

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listened to attentively, and accompanied to my cab by my hearers, who took a cordial farewell of me.

November 4. I breakfasted at Grosvenor House with the Duke and Duchess of Westminster to meet the South African Chief, Khama, who had cordially co-operated with the Anti-Liquor-Trade-Society, restricting the sale of spirituous liquors in his Dominions, and deserved our hearty thanks.

I am in the habit in late years of going through my accumulated correspondence at the close of each year, returning to my wife and four children all letters received from them. I have not the heart to destroy them; they can do as they like. All letters of temporary interest from outsiders are destroyed, and only those of importance, or from Scholars, kept and filed alphabetically: it is of great importance to do this work.

I find great pleasure in my old age in translating English Poetry into Latin Verse, Elegiacs, Alcaics, or Sapphics. I caught the trick at Eton sixty years ago, and there is a peculiar charm to me in this mental occupation, for I require no books, and write down the whole Poem, when it is hammered out during my walks, in the omnibus, or the wakeful hours of the night. I suppose it is a peculiar gift to have the power, and it is a wondrous pleasure. I have this year gathered together all my translations of late years: they would make the fortune of an Etonian at School. I wonder whether Eton-boys during the last years of Queen Victoria's reign have the grammatical elements of the Greek and Latin languages as thoroughly imbedded in their memories as we had in the first years of the reign. I often look through my printed poems in search of a false quantity, or wrong gender, but in vain. Dr. Keate and his birch-rod have rendered such a *lapsus plumae* impossible. I must record the fact, that the absolute mastery of the structure of these two languages rendered the acquisition of other languages comparatively easy to me, as the eight Parts of Speech are universal and all-comprehensive, and the Letter-Lore, Word-Lore, Sentence-Lore, of the Public School Latin Grammar to an ordinary intellect seem to cover the whole ground,

" Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 846.

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however diverse may be the details. I have read the Gospel of Mark in many languages, but the same key seems to open all the locks, however different may be the wards of each lock.

1896.

An anomalous duty fell upon me in January. As a Member of the General Purposes Committee of the Diocesan Conference, I was summoned to act with the Archdeacon of Middlesex as Scrutineer of the votes for the Election of the House of Laymen of the Province of Canterbury.

In April the Diocesan Conference of London took place. By request I seconded the Resolution proposed by Dr. Gregory, the Dean of St. Paul's, "That we ought to accept the Educational Bill brought "into Parliament by the present Government. If it did not meet all "our legitimate aspirations, yet it was not likely, that we should get "so good an offer again." It was carried unanimously.

By the publication of my "Gospel-Message" I completed the series of twelve Volumes, which occupied the Orbit of my studies and employments during the period since I left India. I give an account of them, as, looking back, they seem to represent one portion of the work, to accomplish which I was doomed to leave India prematurely. In the Introduction to my "Gospel-Message," p. xv, I describe how it came about, and in this place I merely enumerate the Volumes, in their two classes, into which my studies were divided:

I. Language:

(1) "Languages of East Indies," 1878.
(2) "Languages of Africa," 1883.
(3) "Languages of Oceania," 1887.
(4) "List of Bible-Translations," 1890.
(5) "Essays on Languages used in the Bible, and Translations," 1890.
(6) "Bible-Diffusion," 1892.

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II. Religion:

(1) "Africa Rediviva," 1891.
(2) "Missionary Methods," 1894.
(3) "Common Features of all Religions," 1895.
(4) "Ancient Religions of the World," 1896.
(5) "Clouds on the Horizon, or new Religions coming into existence," 1890.
(6) "Gospel-Message," 1896.

No doubt many of my remarks are distasteful to a circle of readers with imperfect knowledge, strong prejudices, and narrow minds, but they are not the less true on that account, and not the less necessary.

"Faithful are the wounds of a friend." (Proverbs, xxvii, 6.)

It is better, that the failings of the past should be pointed out by one, who heartily loves the great Cause, and understands the subject from a study of half a Century, than by an avowed enemy to the great work of Evangelization. Many are walking in half-knowledge, misled by the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal of an Egoistic Report of a Secretary, who is paid for the job, and dares not omit abuse or laudation in certain places for fear of offending influential subscribers. In no other subject is more ignorance and unchristian malice shown than in the condemnation and abuse of the poor moribund survivals of the Ancient Religions of the World. And yet the Ruler of the World, who "hates nothing that He has made," allowed them to flourish, and influence the hearts of millions, for more than three thousand years, though by a mere expression of His Will they might have ceased to exist. A better feeling is coming into existence. I quote copy of a letter received from a totally unknown correspondent at Chicago, in the United States.

"My dear Sir, I have received and read, with great interest, your "Lecture at the British Museum, and your Essay before the Oriental "Congress at Geneva, on 'The Ancient Religions of the World.' Both "of these addresses are filled with that kind of generosity of thought,

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"which has become very grateful to me during the years, in which "I have been interested in the Parliament of Religions. Such addresses "as yours will do much to enlighten the thinking of the times.

"Yours faithfully, JOHN HENRY BARROW."

We should lay to our hearts the noble words of one of the great thinkers of our age. "Our Toleration therefore should be the widest "possible. Or rather, we should aim at something beyond Toleration, "as commonly understood. In dealing with alien beliefs, our endeavour "must be, not simply to refrain from injustice of word or deed, but "also to do justice by an open recognition of positive worth. We must "qualify our disagreement with as much as may be of sympathy." (Herbert Spencer: "First Principles."—Part I. 'The Unknowable. The Reconciliation.')

I had an opportunity this year of correcting the proofs of the List of Languages in the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible-Society. Each Translator had sent in his version of some new Language with an Anglicized name: such as Fiji-*an* for Fiji, Rouman-*ian* for Roumán, Java-*nese* for Java, Cinga-*lese* for Sinháli, *Lu*-Ganda for Ganda. I cleared away all these prefixes and suffixes, and let the names stand as our Indian names stand: 'Urdu,' 'Tamil,' 'Maráhti,' etc. In the Russian list of names, 'Skoi' is added to all. In the German, 'ich' is added. Of course, old-established names must be accepted as they are: Span-ish, Russi-an, Turk-ish, Persi-an, etc. It would have been better, if they had come down to us as Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Arabic, etc., but it is too late to change.

After my books, which were sold, or given away, had been cleared off my shelves, I inspected the remainder of my Library, the friends of my youth, the companions of my manhood, the faithful slaves of my old age, with tearful eyes. Other books came in weekly, but one of the saddest features of a much occupied old age is, that in the ten daily hours allotted to reading and writing, it is impossible to keep abreast with current Literature, and the most mournful of the Records on my table is the little manuscript volume with entries spread over forty

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years of "Books to be Read," for so many of which leisure has not been found. My motto has been that of the old Latin "Distribution of the Daily Hours":

"Seven to the world, to pleasing slumber seven,
Ten to your work bestow: and all to Heaven."

I wrote a careful and most important Essay for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Origin of the Phenician and Indian Alphabets." In the year 1877 I had published in the same Journal an Essay on "The Phenician Alphabet," but in the twenty years, which have elapsed, our knowledge had advanced, and the knot to be untied now was not whether the Indian Alphabet was derived from the Phenician, as this was admitted by all, but at what period in History the Indian Alphabet came into existence. I could only record what was stated, and wait for more light. In *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly* I pointed out the danger of making use of Native Indian troops in our wars in East Africa, and I dwelt on the unwisdom of our advance on the Egyptian Sudán, and our policy in the Transvaal. Time must show.

I moved the Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society to found an Association for "Indian Exploration," analogous to that of the Egyptian Association. However, wider views are entertained of a European rather than a British Association. This will be settled in the Oriental Congress. I went to lunch with Lord Reay, our President, to discuss the subject with M. Emile Senart, an illustrious French Savant, and my good friend for many years.

Another great subject which occupied my attention was the preparation of a Catalogue of all my Printed Writings since 1840, a period of fifty-six years, to form an Appendix to my Life-Memoir. This was the first of a series of Appendices prepared to illustrate the labours of one man in the last moiety of the Nineteenth Century.

My scheme of literary work for the year comprised:

(1) Essay on a *Via Media* in Higher Criticism of the Old Testament: standing over 1899.

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(2) Five Essays on Religious Conceptions, and the Doctrine of Metempsychósis: published 1898.
(3) Enlarged Second Edition of "Clouds on the Horizon": standing over 1899.
(4) My Life-Memoir, with appendices: in the Press 1899.

I attended a garden-party at Lambeth Palace, and saw my last of dear good Archbishop Benson, for he died suddenly, while at Hawarden Church, soon afterwards. I went down to Oxford to witness the ceremonial attending the opening of the Indian Institute, and do honour to my life-friend, Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams: he also has since passed away. Another heavy loss this year was that of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin. It is the penalty of old age to witness:

"Crebra suorum funera." (Juvenal.)

I agreed with a friend, Colonel Charles Stewart, of the Indian Army, to publish in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society a copy of the Inscription on the Temples of the Fire-worshippers at Baku, near the Caspian Sea. We both had visited the spot. The Naphtha Wells, by the supply of a prodigious amount of petroleum, had led to the expulsion of the last representatives of the Ancient 'Cult of Fire,' and the Priests had sold their buildings and had disappeared. They had no connection with the Gheber, or Fire-worshipper of Persia, now represented by the Parsi at Bombay, but hailed from India, and the Inscriptions are in Indian Language and Written Character. Our knowledge on the subject is as yet imperfect. I appended to the paper a note on the Temple of the Fire-worshippers at Jowála Mukhi, in the Kangra District of the Panjáb, which I visited in 1850, and have mentioned at p. 41 of this Life-Memoir.

By a singular chance I was called upon to open my mouth in the

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 1.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 376.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 851.

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Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury. When vacancies occur in the Clerical Order of the Board of Missions, the elections are made by that House, and I attended to assist the Members by suggesting names of candidates. In July a difficulty occurred, and the Prolocutor, understanding that I was present, called upon me to stand up, and answer certain questions which he made. I had this month the pleasure of a long interview with my old friend, Professor Sayce. We discussed the date of the invention of Alphabetic writing; it seems impossible to me, that it existed at the date attributed to the Exodus, and this opens out the question, whether the Ten Commandments, and the Books of Moses, were committed to writing at so early a date. This is one of the questions, which the future generation must decide. We can only form an opinion up to the level of our existing knowledge.

I went down to my Quarterly Inspection of Wormwood-Scrubs-Prison, and went into the cells prepared for Dr. Jameson and the other Transvaal-invaders. They were comfortable enough, and in a secluded corner of the building. The prisoners arrived soon after I had left, so I did not see them. I could not but feel that they were justly punished.

I took a house at Sheringham, near Cromer, in Norfolk, for two months. I could not consider it an improvement on Eastbourne. It had one charm, however, for I was able to pay two visits to Blickling, the family-house for several generations of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to whose family my first wife belonged. It had previously belonged to the Boleyn family, and Anne Boleyn was married to King Henry VIII here. At a later date King Charles II brought his Portuguese Bride here. This is recorded in the district:

> "Blickling two Monarchs, and their Brides, has seen:
> For one took hence, the other brought, a Queen."

The present life-proprietress is the Marchioness of Lothian, whom I have long known. She is sister of my cousin, Countess Brownlow.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 197.

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I went over the house and garden, and after luncheon went down into the Family-Vault, and visited the Mausoleum in the Park. My little grandchild, Beatrice, was with me, and she was the only one of the party descended from the Hobart Family. We made her stand under the picture of the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Hobart, her lineal ancestor, who purchased the place, and Lady Lothian called her "The Little Tenth," as she was tenth in descent from the founder of the family.

I had this year my photograph taken by Messrs. Elliot & Fox, Talbotype Gallery, Baker Street, who visited the houses of all the Justices of the County of London for the purpose, so I had the advantage of being taken in my own room, with my cat on the sofa, my image of Buddha on my table, my table before me, at which I was seated in the act of writing, and below were inscribed the words:

"Sic sedebat"

("Thus he used to sit"): adopted from the statue of Lord Bacon, at St. Albans.

This photograph appears at the close of my Life-Memoir. At the commencement of the volume is a photograph of my Picture, presented to the Head Master of Eton, Dr. Hawtrey, when I left school, as Captain of the Oppidans, in 1840, and which picture hangs now on the walls of the Provost's Lodge at Eton, among the pictures of my contemporaries.

I preached, as usual, twice in the Chelsea-Workhouse and once in the Chapel in Short's Gardens, Seven Dials. I presented a selection of Missionary Books, by different authors, from my shelves to the Library of the Church Missionary Society. I accompanied a Deputation from the Bible-Society to call upon the Persian Ambassador, and present him with a copy of the Bible in the Language of his country, my favourite Language, the Persian. We took an Interpreter with us, and thanked the Ambassador for the help, which he had given to our work.

On my return to London I commenced a course of Reading of the Bible to last through the Winter and to comprise fourteen Languages; a portion was selected from each Version. The course lasted from

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October 1, 1896, to May 15, 1897, and was highly interesting and instructive.

"*Πόλλαι μεν θνήτοις γλῶσσαι, μία δ' ἀθανάτοισι.*"
"Multae terricolis Linguae, coelestibus una."
"Many the Tongues of poor Mortals, but one the Tongue of the Angels."

I wrote an account of this experiment under the title of "Scripture Readings for Winter Months," and I recommend the experiment to friends with leisure. Perhaps the age of 75 is rather too old for it.

The Languages were:

Asia.	*Europe.*
1. Hebrew.	1. Latin.
2. Urdu.	2. Greek.
3. Persian.	3. German.
4. Sanskrit.	4. French.
5. Arabic.	5. Italian.
6. Hindi.	6. Spanish.
7. Bengáli.	7. Portuguese.

It so happened, that I was more or less familiar with all of these varieties of Language and Script, and read them without difficulty.

I do not wish to decry old age, as might be thought from an expression in a previous sentence. I wrote a Poem this year to point out, that people cannot expect real happiness until they reach 75 years. I felt, that I was falling behind the contemporary knowledge of Greek Archæology, so I attended Professor Gardner's Lectures at University College, and read up some of the later books, in order to get myself abreast again. I collected in one album all the pictures taken of myself in my early years, and photographs in my later, and was amazed to find that the number reached ninety. The climate and my advanced age compelled me to relax to a certain extent my attendance at Committees. I kept to the smaller ones, where my

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 654.

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presence was of importance. A younger generation can carry on the current work of great Associations.

As I sorted my Manuscript Poems, I found material for a Second Series of "Poems of Many Years and Many Places," and published it. As I waded through the seven quarto volumes of copies of my miscellaneous printed writings, pasted into a series of blank books, I found material for a Fifth Series of "Linguistic and Oriental Essays." Many of these papers available are the result of deep thought and long study. I wish them to be of use to those who come after me. I sat at the feet of many learned men of the last generation, who left their priceless lucubrations scattered here and there in periodicals, and consequently they are of no use to the modern Student, who cannot get at them. I find that I have contributed to no less than seventy-one periodicals in a great many languages, so it was expedient to make a selection and publish a collective edition.

In March of this year I found that fifty years had elapsed since I made my first contribution to the *Calcutta Review*, seated in my tent before Lahór, only just captured by the British Army, March, 1846. Sir Henry Lawrence was in the next tent, and he also wrote for the new Review. I commenced a Jubilee-paper in honour of the lapse of time. Up to that date I had only contributed forty-two articles, but up to the year 1899 I have contributed forty-nine, and, if my life be spared, before the end of this year, 1899, I hope to send two more, and my record will reach fifty-one contributions in a period of fifty-three years, from the age of 25 to 78. To record my fifty years Jubilee, in 1896, I drafted a special Essay on "The Advance of Knowledge on certain Subjects from 1846 to 1896."

Those subjects were:

I. The Religious Conceptions of Mankind.
II. The Languages of Mankind.
III. Anthropology.
IV. Higher Criticism of Ancient Documents.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 273.

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V. Archæological Excavations.
VI. Geography.
VII. History.
VIII. Tests applied to Foundations of History.

This contribution appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, 1897, and I was glad; but it represents only a small section of the mighty progress of Human knowledge during the lifetime of an old man. Others may describe that progress within the particular Orbit of their studies: I kept to my own limited one.

I preached as Diocesan Reader to an interesting gathering of men in the Church-Room of the Holy Trinity, Kilburn. It is so obvious, that the power of the Pulpit is gone: the droned-out written address of the worn-out, or incapable, old Clergyman is a mere useless form. It does seem the germ of a new vehicle of oral Instruction to get selected Clergy or Laymen to give stirring addresses in Church-House, or School-house, to men or women, who voluntarily attend to be spoken to, and who can without offence get up and leave the building when they choose. Is not this better than the conventional snoring of the pious old lady and gentleman in their comfortable pew, who have satisfied their conscience by attending twice the place of Parish-Worship? What is the difference between such empty service and the Latin Mass of the Romish Church? Both represent the same profitless, *not understood* form of 'opus operatum,' engendering the same miserable satisfaction of having attended two services and listened to two sermons on each Sunday.

Having disposed, as described above, of all the printed matter of the last thirty or forty years, I turned my attention to the masses of Manuscript matter, which has accumulated in my tin-boxes. They are of two kinds: (1) the Copy prepared for the Printer of my Books, Essays, and other contributions, from the time of the dear old Code of Revenue Law of 1868, which have been to the Press, and are in print. I have not the heart to burn them, any more than an old Clergyman has the heart to destroy the contents of his sermon-tub, which turned round and

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presented a Sermon for every Sunday in the good old days of King George: after my death all such may be destroyed. But all my unpublished writings on the subject of Language, addresses on Missions, Sermons as a Layman, have been bound in folio volumes, and may possibly be of use to those, who have to tread the same path; I feel grateful, now that I am in sight of the goal, that I have tangible proof, that my life for nearly sixty years has not been that of an idle man. The real Altruism, as opposed to Egoism, is to try to the best of your abilities to be of use to others.

This year, as in former years, I sent off from time to time slips regarding new words, or old words with a different significance, which came under my observation in the course of my studies, to my honoured friend Dr. Murray, Editor of the Oxford University English Dictionary, which is now advancing.

1897.

This was the sixty-first year of Her Majesty's Reign: it seemed but yesterday, that we Eton-Boys ran out into the Playing-Ground to see the flag on Windsor-Castle flying half-masted: those of us who, like myself, seven years before had seen the same phenomenon in 1830, when George IV took his departure, knew what that meant. Sixty years have passed away since then, and the little girl, whom we knew on horseback in the Park at Windsor, or at Children's Balls at the Castle, as Princess Victoria of Kent, has developed into the dear old lady, whom we know and love as Queen of Great Britain, and Empress of India. Everyone was proposing something, a statue, or a building, to record the unequalled length of the reign of a British Sovereign. My proposal has already been stated at page 182 of this Memoir. Nothing came of it: the present Government is hopelessly limp on the subject of Slavery.

I sent copies of my last Photograph to be hung up on the walls of Committee-Rooms, some of which I am unable now to attend: the Church Missionary Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bible-Society. In the album of the Royal Geographical Society is a Photograph of

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myself and my second daughter, who is one of the few Lady-Fellows, with the Inscription:

"Two jolly good Fellows";

for such a phenomenon never in the annals of this Society occurred before, and is not likely to occur again, as by a kind of foolish infatuation women are still excluded from being paying Fellows, although the Theatre of London University, where the Meetings are held, is crowded with them as Visitors.

I began to take in hand, and sort, my voluminous files of letters received from correspondents in the last seventy years, for my earliest letter at my first school is dated 1828, when George IV was king. All letters, that I received in India from 1843 when I arrived, up to 1855, when I left for England on my furlough, twelve years, perished during the Mutinies of 1857, as they were stowed away in tin-boxes in the Government Treasury at Banda, which was stormed and burned to the ground by the rebels: so my correspondence is in two sections:

I. 1828 to 1842	... ...	14 years.
II. 1855 to the present date...	44	„
	58	„

First came the process of thinning out letters not necessary to preserve; the remainder to be kept in yearly bundles, and grouped in folios containing a decade. The bulk was too great to adopt a simple alphabetical arrangement of the letters in each year: the alternative was three main Divisions: A. Family; B. Non-Family; C. Connected with my Publications. Of the A Division there were six subdivisional Folios; of the B Division there were six subdivisions:

Folio I. Ecclesiastics of all Churches.
„ II. Scholars of English Nationality.
„ III. Foreign Scholars.
„ IV. Friends and Acquaintances, English and Foreign.
„ V. Missionary subjects.
„ VI. Men of Note.

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Each of these Subdivisions is further divided into Chronological Sections as follows:

I. Decade up to 1867.
II. „ 1868–1877.
III. „ 1878–1887.
IV. „ 1888–1897.
V. „ 1898–?
VI. Long and bulky correspondence on separate subjects.

All that are worth keeping can be found at once, for in the Manuscript Guide to the arrangement the names of all correspondents are recorded in their separate subdivisions. My daily correspondence is frightfully heavy, as I have so many irons in the fire, so many subjects of interest totally distinct from each other, but all within my Orbit. The daily average is about a dozen coming in and the same number going out, and in several Languages. To ease an overworked brain I devote an hour or so to light literature, such as Romances, every day.

I accompanied the Duke of Westminster on a deputation to the Board of Agriculture to protest against the cruelty to Animals by Butchers. I had attended a Meeting last year on the subject at the Church House, and spoken to a Resolution.

On March 15 we had a Meeting in the Westminster-Town-Hall on the subject of the treatment of Indian Immigrants by the European Colonists in the Colony of Natal, South Africa. In my address I laid the subject at length before the Meeting in the name of our Indian fellow-subjects of Her Majesty, men of respectable position, but treated as dogs by the low English whites of the Colony. Sir Lepel Griffin was in the Chair, and I was well supported. It is the paramount duty of the Anglo-Indian in his retirement to speak up for the people of India. Their rights were guaranteed to them by the 'Victoria' Proclamation of 1857, and they have just as much right to settle in the British Colony as the low white from England. These gentry make an outcry, if the

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 467.

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Boers of the Transvaal do not admit them to an equality in their Province, yet they wish to ride roughshod over Her Majesty's subjects from India in British Colonies.

I commenced an Essay on "Modern Religious Conceptions," to be laid before the International Oriental Congress, which meets in 1897 in Paris. I am too old to go to it, but my two daughters will represent me.[1] I am a Member of it, and send this communication to it in the English and French languages. At the same time I published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* a paper describing all the Oriental Congresses from the earliest at Paris, in 1872. In the Bible-Society I earnestly supported the proposal to admit on our list the Revised Version of the Bible. However, the stupid party, who opposed it, triumphed. They are unconsciously following the policy of the Priests of Rome at the time of the Reformation, who clung to their Vulgate. The conduct of the Bible-Society is still more absurd, for it impresses on all its Translators in foreign lands the importance of making use of the Revised Version, so as to secure the real meaning of the Hebrew and Greek, and yet it declines to distribute the same Version in its Depôts.

I attended as a listener a Meeting of the Aborigines-Society in Westminster-Palace-Hotel. There were excellent speeches from great speakers. The Cruelty of the British Colonist to coloured Natives was the subject. No heathen can behave more brutally, and with lower motives, than the so-called British Christian, the English low white, when an immigrant into a country belonging for Centuries to another, but a weaker, race.

By arrangement I met an illustrious lady at the house of a mutual friend to discuss with her, as a man with a man, the question of the Morality of the British Soldier in India, and the policy to be adopted. I went over the whole subject frankly with her in the presence of our friend, and having lived in the midst of British Soldiers for so many years, I understood it. I lamented the Moral weakness of the

[1] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 475.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 771.

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young Soldier in a foreign country. I pointed out, that it was not a matter, in which ladies living in England, unable to understand the whole problem, could interfere in with any advantage or credit. The authorities in India were Christian men, and would adopt the policy, which the circumstances required. I believe that my arguments had weight.

The United Board of Missions met this year in the Jerusalem-Chamber, lent by special favour of the Dean of Westminster, as the rooms in the Church-House were required for Convocation. It was the last appearance at the Board of our clerical Secretary, Bishop John Selwyn, for he fell ill in the Autumn and died in January, 1898. I circulated[1] at this time a pamphlet to the Bishops assembled in the Lambeth Conference, on the necessity of granting a certain degree of Independence to Native Christian Churches. Up to this time, 1899, my efforts have been in vain. The Egoism of British Missionary Committees refuses to grant to others that independence, which they claim for their own Churches. It is precisely the same obliquity of vision in Ecclesiastical matters, which apparently encourages the low white Colonist in his oppression of the inferior and weaker races in secular matters.

I was present in June at an excellent performance of "Iphigenia in Aulis," at the University College, Gower Street. The performance was to me interesting. My little granddaughter played the part, a dumb part, of the boy Orestes, and my youngest daughter was one of the Chorus. I was delighted with the whole thing. I wrote a description of it, and a photograph was taken.

I attended a Meeting in Westminster-Town-Hall to urge the granting of Parliamentary Suffrage to Women, single, or widows, on the same terms that men enjoy it. It seems monstrous to refuse it. Paying taxes implies the right to representation. I spoke earnestly in favour of the measure. On the day of the Jubilee, when the streets were crowded, I kept to my house, and was satisfied with the recollection, that I had seen the Queen crowned in Westminster Abbey in 1838, and seated by the side of

[1] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 648.
[2] "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 540.

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her husband as she passed through Eton College on her wedding-day in 1840. I really did not think this second Jubilee, on the sixtieth year, necessary.

On the 1st of August the Board of Missions received at a luncheon in the Hall of the Grocers' Company the Bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference. I was one of the Organizing Committee, and helped to receive the guests. The seat assigned to me was at one end of the long table on the Dais, with Bishops on both sides of me.

On the 8th I preached at the Chelsea-Workhouse for the Chaplain, and soon afterwards started to Felixstowe. Here I prepared, by request, a Paper on "The Political Occupation of Africa by the European Powers," for *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. In addition to my Essay on "Modern Religious Conceptions," in French and English, I sent specimens of Bible Translations in 196 Languages, all of which had been prepared in the sixty years of Queen Victoria's reign, to the International Oriental Congress, which met at Paris, and which my two daughters attended.

I was now deeply engaged in my five Essays on Religious Conceptions:

I. The Dawn of a Conception.
II. The Decay of a Conception.
III. The Useless Prolongation of the Life of a Conception.
IV. The Superior Excellence of a Conception evidenced by the Results.
V. The Philosophical Aspect of the Idea of Metempsychósis.

I returned to London on September 25, preached on one Sunday in the Chelsea-Workhouse, and on another Sunday drove down to Acton and gave an address to a Meeting of Men only in the Church-House. Both these services gave me great pleasure. I regret that I am getting so old, as I should like to render more of this kind of service. I have no gift for Prayer-Meetings, but I think that I am able to interest a well-disposed audience. I do not remark any of them falling asleep.

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 817.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V, p. 851.

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I took up in earnest the thinning of the contents of my Carton Boxes, which contain the materials of all my studies and employments, and without which I should be crippled, and never know where to find a paper when wanted. Yet they require periodical thinning out. Their number is as follows:

Languages	6
Religion	6
Geography, Politics, Municipal Duties ...	5
Miscellaneous	3
	20

I could not have done what I have done of literary work, if I had not kept my material for composition in exact and scientific order. Their use is now well-nigh over. They may be totally or partially destroyed, or handed over to some younger scholar.

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO THIRD DECADE.

I have now completed the Memoir of my third Decade: thirty years have elapsed since I left India, a broken-down man, my projects of usefulness wrecked, a useless log floating in the stagnant waters of life. In England, by the Grace of God, I found a new career.

In the perusal of the three last decades the reader will find little or no allusion to the attendance at Committees, Councils, or Meetings, monthly or weekly. The days of every week were told off for something, and the body and mind kept at a constant stretch, many hours being wasted in the conveyance to and fro. But the Anglo-Indian, who had spent twenty-five years in constant attendance at Cutcherry in India, has a kind of liking for Committees in England: he is like a Chinese opium-eater, who cannot give up his drug. Work, steady healthy work, is, and ought to be, the necessity of the retired Anglo-Indian's existence.

At the close of the first Decade I dwelt upon the special subject of Languages all over the world (see pp. 140–143). At the close of the second Decade I enumerated the Secular Duties, which fall to the lot

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of the man, who has independent means and leisure, and is desirous to do something for his fellow-creatures, and thus justify his existence. His life had been spared, while hundreds of lives fell: out of sheer gratitude he must render something to his Lord and his fellow-creatures.

At the close of the third Decade, I add some remarks on the greatest of all subjects, that can occupy the mind of man: "the relation of the Human Soul to God," and the "Duty to our fellow-creatures" that arises from it. Egoism was the chief feature of the ancient Religions of the World. Let the rest of mankind live in ignorance, and die with a certainty of everlasting damnation. Such were the sentiments of the Hebrew. The whole Human race, with the exception of his own precious self, was accursed. The idea of 'Altruism' comes forth prominently in the teaching of Gaútama Buddha, 500 years before the Christian era. Missionaries were sent out by him to convey certain teaching to other Races, and a Religious Conception ceased to be National in the strictest sense, and became Universal and Propagandist. The Christian Religious Conception was of the same type. The study of the Ancient Religions of the World is one of solemn interest. At the present Epoch we have collected sufficient material for the foundation of a new, a comparative, and a strictly historical, study of Religions as a whole. Professor Max Müller remarks:

"Religions have shared the fate of Languages and Mythologies. "They have been studied historically and in a comparative spirit, and "they have thus been recognized, as the natural outcome of the Human "mind, when brought in contact with Nature, and with what is behind "this phenomenal and perishable Nature, the Invisible, the Eternal, the "Divine. This is true Religion, because natural Religion, based on that "touch with God through Nature, which has been and will always remain "the lifespring of all true Religion, however much it may have been "hidden for a time by those who, though human beings themselves, "claim for themselves the right to assign to their own Religion a super-"human or miraculous origin. What is natural is Divine, what is "supernatural is Human. That all Religions contain some truth was the

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" expressed conviction of St. Augustine, and with our wider knowledge " we need not be afraid to adopt even wider views. There are few heathen " temples, in which we may not ourselves silently worship, there are " few prayers in which we may not reverently join."

Preface to Collective Edition of his Principal Works.

The Progress made in the Science of Higher Criticism has greatly promoted the *real* study of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the last generation the Family Bible, handsomely bound, with records of births of children in its spare leaves, lay in honour on a table or a shelf, but unstudied. Such is not the case now. If the Bible is really read, marked, and learned, it must be treated as any other Human book, and be searched, be weighed in the balance; and it must be remembered, that it is not one Book, but a Library, extending over one thousand years.

These brief remarks are made to show, that it is not possible for a Christian man in Middle Life not to take some part in the Religious activity of his contemporaries, and his environment, or to remain in the old state of profound ignorance of, and contempt for, the Religious Movements of the Epoch: it is the most intensely interesting and important, and remunerative, portion of the duties of life.

A. Religious Associations for Home Work.

I have held honorary Office in, or been a Member of, the following:

1. Association of Lay-Helpers of the Diocese. Office of Diocesan Reader of Diocese of London, with license to preach in all Churches: Office-holder.
2. Annual Corporation of Church-House: Member.
3. Diocesan Conference of London: Member.
4. Diocesan General Purposes Committee: Member.
5. Church-Congress in London, 1899: Council.
6. London Clerical and Lay Union: Member.
7. Ruridecanal Congress, Kensington: Member.

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8. Periodical Meetings at Church-House, St. Paul's, Onslow Square : one of the Presidents.
9. Young Women's Christian Association : Member.
10. Spanish and Portuguese Church-Aid-Association : Member.
11. Holding Service and Preaching in Workhouse Chapels : Guardian.
12. Addresses to Mothers' Meetings, notably Short's Gardens : Visitor.
13. Committee of National School, St. James the Less : Member.
14. Evangelical Alliance : Member.
15. Church Reform League : Member.
16. City Mission : Subscriber.
17. League of Mercy (Hospitals) : Vice-President.

A great deal of good home-work can be done in a quiet way. I never had the gift of teaching in Sunday-Schools, visiting the sick in Hospitals, or attending and taking part in Prayer-Meetings. I must confess, that elaborate Church-Services, and Church-Music, had no charm for me. I preferred the simplest possible form of Divine Worship on Sunday, and something instructive and suggestive from the Pulpit, instead of sensational dreams, dry-benchy formularism, or the drowsy sermon read out from the manuscript, as it had been read for many years. No wonder that the Pulpit has lost all power. The Houses of Parliament and the Courts of Justice would fall equally low, if the Members and the Bar handled their subject in the same way. The innocent, yet pregnant, remark of the architect, who had to make his report as to the structural condition of one Church, applies to many others: "The building is in good order, but there is a great deal of dry rot in the Pulpit." And yet there is in all cities an abundance of qualified Laymen to assist the overworked Clergyman in portions of his duty. It is enough to drive the intelligent educated classes out of Christianity as well as out of the Church, to have to sit week after week and endure the hebdomadal drone.

1. The Association of Lay-Helpers contains the germ of important progress, if only Priestly pride and egoism, which are as strong in

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Protestant as in Romish Communities, will give the movement fair-play. The following may well be taken as the motto of the Association: "A strong association of Lay-Helpers is the best testimony of the Life, Zeal, and Reality, of a Church." The office of Diocesan Reader, which, at the nomination of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, I have held for many years, is one of the features of the above-mentioned Association. I only wish that I had been called to it in the fifties and sixties, instead of the seventies. The Office has a peculiar charm of its own.

2. The Church-House is an important place of Meeting of all Church-workers.

3. The Diocesan Conference of London is a meeting every April of Members elected in their Deaneries, and is of great interest. It will from the present year be held in the Church-House. I have been many years an elected Member, and have seen three Bishops presiding.

4. I am also a Member of the General Purposes Committee of this Conference to prepare the Agenda.

5. The Church-Congress in London of 1899 is a great experiment. I have been on the Council to prepare the Agenda.

6 and 7. The London Clerical and Lay Union, and the Ruridecanal Conferences, are useful Associations.

8. The Periodical Meetings for discussion in the Parochial Church-Room are of importance, and indicate life among Church Members.

9. The Young Women's Christian Association is a noble Institution, and does a really benevolent work. Besides being a subscriber, I have from time to time given lectures.

10. The Spanish and Portuguese Church-Aid-Association is a movement of great importance. It is *by no means a Missionary Work.* I should not have accepted a seat on the Committee, if it had been so. Its object is to help by money, advice, and moral support, the Protestants of Spain and Portugal in their struggle to establish themselves as self-supporting, self-governing Churches. The Church of Rome would be glad to destroy them, and burn the Protestants, if the spirit of the age would let them: they are tolerated by the Law, and have the same right

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to existence, as our ancestors had in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. My lamented friend, Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, drew my attention to this Association, and I shall stand by it out of love to his Memory, as well as from a sense of Duty.

11. The Reading of the Prayers and Preaching in the Chelsea Workhouse Chapel has fallen to me unconsciously as a Parochial Guardian: the Chaplain often has a wish to be absent, and has to procure a substitute, which may be costly, and certainly difficult to obtain in a short time. To me it is a great delight to read the Service and Preach. Sometimes the Master of the Workhouse reads the Service, and I read the Lessons, and preach. I try to make my addresses brief and suitable to my hearers, and it comes to my ears, that they talk about them afterwards. I wear on such occasions my surplice as Diocesan Reader, and my scarf of Doctor of Civil Law.

12. The duty of giving addresses at Mothers' Meetings, or holding Services in Short's Gardens Chapel, near the Seven Dials, came to me many years before I became Diocesan Reader. The circumstances of the Chapel have lately changed: it was always an unconsecrated building, and is now used for Mothers' Meetings. I have the pleasure of being asked there yearly to address a humble assembly of female workers. I went there the last time in June, 1899, and gave an address: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God" (Isaiah, xl, 1). Expressions of gratitude and love always welcome me: the building is small, and I stand among my listeners. Let me reflect on the privilege, which is thus granted me: a hard man of the world in my outward appearance, a ruler in youth and middle age of non-Christian Nations, a publisher of learned volumes, a member of learned Associations, yet I am permitted to address words of Christian advice and comfort to poor women hardly pressed for means of existence, in humble circumstances, and a low state of human culture: the poor have a practical Gospel of daily life brought gently to their souls. Oh! how far more satisfying to the soul than Theatres, Racecourses, Club Card-tables Balls, and general Society, is this quiet intercourse! and God has provided me

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with something in my old age worth living for, a Service which it is a pleasure to discharge. I should have liked in middle life to have been Governor of a great Province, but in my old age I am satisfied with the duties laid before me.

B. ASSOCIATIONS FORMED SOLELY FOR THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD, WITH WHICH I HAVE BEEN CONNECTED DURING THE LAST THIRTY YEARS.

1. British and Foreign Bible Society : Vice-President.
2. Board of Missions for the Province of Canterbury : Hon. Lay Secretary.
3. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge : Member.
4. Society for Translation Committee, Life-appointment : Member.
5. Religious Tract Society : Subscriber.
6. Society for Propagation of the Gospel : Member.
7. Church Missionary Society, since 1844 : Member, Life-Governor.
8. Church Missionary Lay Workers Union for London : Vice-President.
9. Church Missionary Society Chairman of African Sub-Committee : Chairman.
10. London Society for Conversion of the Jews : Vice-President.
11. Christian Literature Society for India : Vice-President.
12. Rio Pongas Mission to West Africa from the West Indies : Member.
13. Zenána Bible Medical Society : Subscriber.
14. Church of England Zenána Society : Subscriber.
15. Wesleyan Missionary Society : Subscriber.
16. Baptist Missionary Society : Subscriber.
17. London Missionary Society : Subscriber.
18. University Mission to East Equatorial Africa : Subscriber.
19. Moravian Missionary Society : Subscriber.
20. Melanesian Missionary Society : Subscriber.

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21. China Inland Missionary Society : Subscriber.
22. British Syrian Schools : Subscriber.
23. North African Mission : Subscriber.
24. American Board of Missions, Boston, United States : Hon. Member.
25. Periodical Missionary Conferences, (*a*) Church of England, (*b*) all Protestant Churches : Member of Organizing Committee.
26. Deputation to Missionary Meetings all over the Country : Speaker.
27. Lahór Diocesan Deaconesses Fund : Subscriber.
28. Mission to Native Female Undergraduates in Colleges, Bombay : Subscriber.

The word Subscriber, as employed above, means one who makes a yearly subscription, attends the Annual Meeting, receives and reads the Periodicals, knows the Secretaries, and chief workers, but takes no share in the administration. My view of the importance of this subject is more fully illustrated by a paper, written and circulated on April 12, 1899, which I quote *in extenso* :

"THE PHILOSOPHIC AND IMPERIAL ASPECT OF THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

"A year or two back the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge celebrated its Second Centenary : in the course of the next two years the British and Foreign Bible Society will celebrate its first Centenary. This day the Church Missionary Society keeps its hundred and first birthday, having completed its first Century. These three great Associations have done a vast amount of useful work, and together record an Annual Income exceeding Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, collected by voluntary subscriptions. But these three Associations are but a few amidst the great company of contemporary Christian Associations in Europe and North America, though differing from each other in denominational Dogma, and Practice, as far apart as the Church of Rome differs from the Salvation-Army, but with one Central Conception, and Article of Faith : 'Christ Crucified and Risen again.' Their collective Annual Income exceeds One Million Sterling. This is a great Phenomenon, and the Student of Philosophic History may well consider the circumstances. It is something to be proud of, and take courage for the future.

"Education, Civilization, the disappearance of the barriers, which used to separate one nation from another, the uprooting of ancient, and sometimes shameful, Customs,

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such as Slavery, Female Infanticide, and Widow-burning, are the features of the Epoch, in which we live: but these great Gifts are profitless to the Human Race, unless some Spiritual Belief accompanies them; otherwise the Parable is illustrated of the man, who was delivered from one unclean Spirit only to take seven other Spirits worse than the former. The modern Indian, out of whom all respect for his Ancestral effete Dogma and Ritual has been swept by the ruthless Scientific teaching of the Godless State-Colleges of British India (which are a political necessity), finds himself entangled in a net of a more dangerous character, composed of Neo-Religious Conceptions, and his last state is worse than the first.

"On the subjects of the Moral Law, of the Truth, absolute Truth, of Physical Science, of the necessity of Municipal Government, of the right to Religious Tolerance, of Freedom in all things lawful, all Mankind, at least all, who are capable of forming an opinion, agree. It is on the Existence of a God, on the Relation of the Soul to that God, and the question of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments, that men differ from each other. Ernest Renan has left the stinging remark, that on such high subjects the Human Race is so foolish, that it will believe any lie, and, if by chance it believes the Truth, it would be for the wrong reason.

"The old Religious Conceptions, including that of the Hebrews, which have sounded so long and so loudly through the Corridors of Time, have lost their vitality, and are dying away, and their place is being occupied by a crop of Neo-Religious Conceptions, the creations of the Nineteenth Century. Let the narrow-minded Christian fanatic abstain from abuse of these ancient Cults, for Men grew wise, brave, and virtuous, under their influence, and they were permitted by the great Power, which rules the world, to exist for thousands of years. In the Fulness of Time there came into existence an intelligible Religious Conception, universal, suitable to the wants of all in every degree of Human Culture. Should not the Nations, waking up from the trance of the Past, have the opportunity of knowing it, and of trying it? The Epoch of calm Reason, and earnest Teaching, has superseded the Epoch of the Arm of the Flesh, and the curse of Religious Intolerance.

"Not 'Success' but 'Service' is the watchword of this new warfare. The great motive-power is Self-Sacrifice, which is a gift promised by the great Master, and realized by His true servants: the caring for others, the principle of 'Altruism' as opposed to 'Egoism,' for the first expression of which Idea we are indebted to Gautama Buddha, B.C. 600, but it has never been so entirely realized as now. This is one of the ingredients of a great National character, and strengthens the fibres of the Body Politic, by exhibiting a Devotion to a Cause, not for the sake of Wealth, or Honour, or a Name, but because an Ideal Personage, to whose guidance some of us have surrendered ourselves, our hopes, and our fears, in this world and the next, has *told us to do so.*

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This is in very deed having the strength of our convictions. Not by carnal Might, or Human Wisdom, but by the Teaching of the Holy Spirit.

"And is not the Idea of Self-Sacrifice for a great Cause an Imperial one? Is it not a worthy attribute of a great Imperial Race, perhaps the most worthy? Why do the ends of the world render obedience to us? The Greatness of Great Britain must in its own time fade away like the Tyrian dye, and moulder like the Venetian Palaces, yet in the Twenty-first Century the philosophic Historian will record, that the men of the Nineteenth Century accepted a great Idea of the Creator and Ruler of the world, and of His Son, who illustrated the Law of Self-Sacrifice by giving up His life for the sins of His brethren, and left His Holy Spirit to occupy the hearts of His followers, and assist them in their daily course. In some manner we men of this Nineteenth Century have accepted this great Idea, and are not content to enjoy the Treasure for ourselves, but have found Grace at the sacrifice of Millions of worthless money, and hundreds of priceless lives, to publish the Good News to the whole Human Race, black, brown, red, yellow, and white; for to all have been given two great congenital gifts to differentiate them from animals, viz.:

(1) Language, or the use of articulate Speech.
(2) Consciousness of a Power greater than themselves.

"Other generations may in former times have done well, but the three generations of the Nineteenth Century have done a work absolutely unique, something which surpasses in the grandeur of its conception, in the magnitude of its scale of operation, in the loftiness of its unselfishness, and in its beneficence to our fellow-creatures, all that has been done before. We have erected a Monument, which will outlive all time.

"The Greeks left to us their Philosophy, and the Books of Plato and Aristotle are an imperishable legacy of Wisdom. The Romans left their Laws, and the sense of Imperial Duty, but ours has been a nobler task, to circulate in four hundred Languages the Book, which contains Ἁγια Σοφία, and the very cream of Human benevolence, viz., 'to love your enemy and be good to all men': sentiments, which never appeared in the Sacred Books of Non-Christian Sages, not even in those of the Hebrew: quite the contrary.

"The Agents have been poor weak men both in the Field, and the Committee-Room: there is much that we could have wished, that it had not been done, and much more written and said, that we could have wished, that it had been suppressed: the operation teems with errors: much of the practice is faulty, such as heedless waste of sacred money, improvidence, early marriages, abandonment of the vocation for purely selfish reasons. A life-service, a whole-hearted Service, a self-sacrificing Service, is required. The Church of Rome has for three Centuries exhibited this amount of Self-Sacrifice. When they are such, would that they were ours!

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"Still, there has been Progress all down the line. A Secular Government, or a Commercial Undertaking, would have subsided, had it been managed in the same way. But the Movement has proved itself to be Divine in its conception, and supported by Divine aid, which has enabled it to triumph in spite of Human Weakness. It has gone forth Conquering, and to Conquer. Geographical Discoveries, Ethnological Revelations, Linguistic Marvels, Protection of weak races from the Black Slave-dealer, and the White importer of Spirituous Liquors, have accompanied, or followed, the Preacher of the New Gospel in his march over the four portions of the Globe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. A feeling of deep humiliation comes over us, when we think of the wrongs inflicted on the black, brown, white, and yellow, races by the White man: at any rate, he has opened a path for the Gospel. "Per Crucem ad Lucem."

"There are dangers ahead. The same Gospel-Truths are brought before Non-Christian races by at least forty different Sects, many of them hating each other, and the attempt is made to present the simple doctrines, taught in Galilee to an Oriental Race, in a mediæval European capsule, and disfigured by Occidental surroundings. The Apostles would scarcely recognize their own Gospel in the outward envelopment, in which it is presented by unsympathetic Agents to an Oriental people.

"Let our last word be 'Duty,' because the last words of the Master were, 'Go preach my Gospel!' accompanied by a Promise, that He would be with the Messenger.

Even so be it!

"The awful question arises, how anyone, calling himself a Christian, can pass through a long life without ever having given a passing thought, or a miserable shilling, to the great Plan of Human Salvation, for which alone the great Incarnation of God, the Crucifixion for the sins of others, and the Resurrection took place, in historical times, of the facts of which there can be as little doubt as there is that Alexander the Great invaded India, and Brutus killed Julius Cæsar. Perhaps on the deathbed of such nominal Christians there will be heard a wish expressed too late.

"*The Birthday of the Church Missionary Society.*
April 12, 1899."

It was a comfort to hear in Exeter Hall, in the Centenary Meetings of April, 1899, such words as the following from the lips of the Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy of India:

"But if you look to the long roll of distinguished civil and military administrators and soldiers in India, what do you find? No one, I think, will contest this: that in the roll of men who have been active supporters of Christianity, of Missions, and

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especially of this Society, will be found the most distinguished administrators and the best soldiers that have been in India: administrators and soldiers who are the pride of this country. Let us look for a moment at the names of these men. We have in the first place, and the oldest of all, Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, one of the most able civil servants of his time. We have Robert Bird, a name probably known to very few here now, but known in India as that of one of the ablest administrators of the country. We have James Thomason, the son of a chaplain, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, under whom those distinguished men, who were the safeguard of India in the time of the Mutiny, received their training. We have John Lawrence, Henry Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, Donald McLeod. We have Reynell Taylor, who started the Church Missionary Mission on the other side of the Indus. We have Robert Cust, who is still among us, and Herbert Edwardes. But I must add those, with whom I myself have worked in India. We have William Muir and Henry Norman. We have Richard Temple, whom I see here to-day, and I am glad to congratulate him on being able to take the first opportunity, after rising from a bed of sickness, to attend this meeting. We have Charles Aitchison, Rivers Thompson, and we have Henry Ramsay, so long the Commissioner in Kumaon. And besides these, for the list is too long to detain you any more with it, you have those men, who have distinguished themselves as being part of the home organization of our great Society. Well, I say that these men show that the Anglo-Indians have been the great support of the Indian Missions; and I believe that, as regards mere money, we have had the greatest support to Indian Missions from the Civil servants and the Military men, and all these men were men who had, more than any others, the confidence of the Natives of India."

The subject should be studied all round, and the work examined by the Emissaries of each Church of Christendom, and of all the Sects. Some interest themselves only in the work of their own little enterprise, and know nothing of the "Philosophy of Missions." I have to thank the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, for that word. I had previously arrived at the sentiment, but I hesitated to clothe it in words till Dr. Benson uttered it. I had made a profound study of the whole subject, and had spoken out. In all matters affecting Religion the minds of the majority of good men become warped and chained to a post, or particular subject, while in Secular matters they submit to the gradual advance of the age. Progress and Development are the Laws of Human Reason, and it is of no use denying it. We wonder

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how some of our ancestors, at the time of the Reformation, could cling to the old Roman idea of Christianity. Their intellectual position was very much what the intellectual position of the 'stupid party' in Religious matters is at the present moment: "Damnant quod non intelligunt."

Besides, the tendency of all things, even good things, is to decay, and Reform from time to time is a condition of Life. The Monasteries of early European Christianity were instruments of great good, but, as time went on, they became gross abuses, and had to be swept away. So in the early days of Missionary operations things were tolerated, which are impossible now. Take, for instance, the marriage of Missionaries in their tender years, and the waste of thousands of sacred money, collected for the Evangelization of the Heathen in the maintenance of children, who ought never to have been born.

In the *Church Missionary Society Intelligencer* appeared a paper, consisting of eight pages, the perusal of which, after the occurrences of 1892, astonished me very much. I give an extract:

"Dr. Cust on Missions and Missionaries.

"In 1886-1892 Dr. Cust presented to the Society several thousand "copies of papers and pamphlets, written by himself, printed at his own "expense for distribution in connection with the February Simultaneous "Meetings. Perhaps the Missionary cause has never been more powerfully "and eloquently set forth than in these papers. We think that it will "interest all readers to have some extracts from them. We print the "extracts without comment, except that we earnestly recommend them "to be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested. We will only "add they are not fragments torn from their context, and used for "a different purpose from that intended by the writer. They are fair "and honest samples."

I. The Missionary Obligation: (*a*) A Cry for Missions, 1886, p. 7; (*b*) The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain, 1886, p. 8.

II. The Position and Functions of the Missionary: (*a*) Something

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that has been done, 1852, p. 38; (*b*) The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain, 1886, pp. 5, 15.

III. The Missionaries themselves: (*a*) A Cry for Missions, 1886, p. 8; (*b*) Missionary Heroes, 1883; (*c*) Something that has been done, 1852.

IV. Missionaries' Wives: (*a*) A Cry for Missions, 1886, p. 7; (*b*) Missionary Heroes, 1883.

V. Women Missionaries: Female Evangelists, 1885.

VI. Missionary Societies and Committees: The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain, pp. 4, 5.

VII. Missionary Publications: (*a*) A Cry for Missions, p. 6; (*b*) The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain, p. 6.

VIII. Missionary Results: The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain, p. 9.

IX. "A wish expressed too late: 'Oh! that I had done something to spread the Gospel of Christ,'" specially written for the Simultaneous Meetings of the Church Missionary Society, February, 1892, a last effort in a beloved cause, a thankoffering for being permitted to complete a Jubilee of half a Century in the best and most profitable of services.

It is necessary, that I should state distinctly the position, which I chose for myself in the Religious World. I felt myself, as the result of meditation and study, sufficiently tall, intellectually and spiritually, to look over the wretched Human fences, which divide the Christian flock into separate folds. If anyone believed in the Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, of Jesus Christ, he was to me a Christian brother. I drew my line there; and as the result of my careful study of the Religions of the World, Ancient and Modern, was, that the Gospel, as delivered in the New Testament, was the most suitable to the weaknesses, and wants, of the Human Race, and that Human wisdom could desire nothing better than this Divine plan of Salvation, I included all, who believed in Christ Crucified, as in one fold. As to those who denied Christ, I was desirous to convert them, but I wished them no evil, for it was their misfortune, not their fault. God hates nothing that He has made, and by an outpouring of His Holy Spirit could, at any moment,

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convert them: that He had not done so in times past, and that He did not do so in times present, was one of the mysteries reserved for the future. I professed *ex animo* to be a Member of the Episcopal Church, but could not approve of a Parliamentary State-Establishment. Time will cure that blemish. To my Nonconformist Protestant Brethren I ever felt the deepest love and sympathy. With the Church of Rome I was ever ready to act in things Secular. Thus I was in communication with Cardinal Manning to secure to the Inmates of Workhouses their right to a Chaplain paid from the Rates, and their right to be buried according to the forms of their Church by a Priest of their own Church. I assisted Cardinal Vaughan in the matter of an English Bishop of the Church of Rome for the Province of U-Ganda in Central Africa, to put a stop to the miserable political intrigues of the French Priests, who placed 'La France' above the Gospel. I often had visits and letters from Romish Priests and Bishops in West and East Africa, upon literary matters, especially my dear friend Father Riviere, who died on the Zambési, and Father Torrend, my name being mentioned with gratitude in their publications. In my "Africa Rediviva," 1891, pp. 80–88, I called attention to the necessity of a certain concordat, or at least abstinence from open war, in the different Christian Churches in the Non-Christian Field. I had urged the same plea on Cardinal Lavigerie, in my interview with him at Algiers in 1884. The present system is a shame and a scandal.

I now enumerate the Missionary Societies, in which I have taken an interest during the last thirty years. Connection with some has been dropped, as my strength and resources were not equal to too large an Orbit of interest. I have done what I could.

1. The British and Foreign Bible-Society. This Society is the greatest of all: it is "the Queen's daughter, all glorious within," and the Missionary Societies are "the Virgins which bear her company." I have devoted hours and days to her service, and have had a double success. I have not only planted a tree, but that tree is already bearing

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fruit, as younger scholars are taking up the subject scientifically and advancing the cause. I quote the following:

"From the above review the name has been omitted of the chief living "worker in this field, the scholar, who has gathered from every quarter "of the globe and has published a series of valuable books on this "subject. Everyone who has dipped into it, knows what he owes to the "expenditure of labour, time, and money on the part of Dr. Robert "Needham Cust. His 'Bible Translations,' published in 1890 by "Mr. Elliot Stock, contains lists which are the ground and starting-point "of every succeeding worker." (J. Gordon-Watt: "Four Hundred Tongues," 1899.)

2. The Board of Missions of Canterbury has already been alluded to, pp. 222, 246.

3 and 4. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Translation-Committee of that Society, have been for more than twenty years one of my great joys, as it supplements the great work of the Bible-Society by supplying other Literature in all Languages for the Established Church.

5. The Religious Tract Society labours in the same field, but belongs to all the Churches. I have contributed papers to its Periodical.

6–9. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Church Missionary Society, are too well known to require further comment.

10. The London Society for the Conversion of the Jews is one, to which I have devoted myself for many years, and it seems to be our bounden duty to do something for the brethren of our Lord.

11. The Christian Literature Society for India has done good work, and will do more: it belongs to all the Churches.

12. The Rio Pongas Missionary Society from the West Indies to West Africa. There is a certain romance in this enterprise, as it is an attempt on the part of the Negro population of the West Indies to convey the Gospel to the land, from which their ancestors were cruelly and barbarously stolen by the Slave-Dealers. An English Committee in London tries to keep this movement alive, but it is doubtful, whether it will last much

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longer, as the West Indies have suffered such heavy losses. The motto of the Association should be:

"Redit a nobis Aurora, diemque reducit."

13 and 14. The two Societies for the Evangelization of Non-Christian women by female agency are too well known to require further notice.

15–23. I was for many years a contributor to the Wesleyan, Baptist, and London Missionary Societies; also to the East Equatorial African Mission, Moravian, Melanesian, China Inland, British Syrian Schools, and North African Missions.

24. The American Board of Missions at Boston, Mass., United States of America, did me the honour of making me an Honorary Member, and sending me every year their Reports in return for a printed Essay, "Observations and Reflections on Missionary Subjects," which was prepared at their request, and sent to them on the occasion of their seventy-fifth anniversary, which I was unable to attend.

25. Periodical Missionary Conferences. Several of these have taken place, and are of great interest and advantage. They are of two kinds: (1) the Missions of the Church of England; (2) the Missions of all Protestant Churches. The Reports of such gatherings are invaluable to the Student. It has been my lot to take part in the Organization of all, and to attend them and deliver addresses.

26. The subject of Deputations is a very large one. As long as I was strong and well, I was always ready, travelling at my own expense, and when hospitality was not offered, or not suitable, putting up at Hotels. The Societies, for which I spoke, on such occasions were:

(1) The British and Foreign Bible-Society.
(2) Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
(3) Society for Propagation of the Gospel.
(4) Church Missionary Society.
(5) Oxford Missions to India.

Sometimes the occasion has been that of Simultaneous Meetings all over the Kingdom; sometimes a Circuit of Meetings has been mapped

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out. I have known Meetings held in Gardens, or in rooms of a Private House, or Assembly Rooms, or the Town-Hall. There is something very charming about them, but in such addresses care should be taken to banish hard Statistics of Population, or Sensationalism, or too free a use of Scripture-Quotations, or abuse of the poor non-Christian World, whose misfortune it is, but not their fault, that they have never received the Gospel, which until now was never brought to their doors. I find that I have given nearly 600 addresses (Appendix XIV), at twenty-five Institutions (Appendix XII), and in fifty-five British and Foreign Tours (Appendix XIV).

I here subjoin four Poems, which I wrote in this branch of my Studies and Duties:

EXETER HALL, MAY 1, 1888.

C.M.S., OR "CHRIST MY SALVATION."

THROUGH the high windows flows a flood of light,
  Telling of coming Spring, and present May;
Before the doors roll on, both day and night,
  Laborious London's pitiless array:
  Withdrawn from worldly work for one brief day
The spacious Hall can scarcely room afford
  (While on the sounding organ loud they play),
For men and women met with one accord
On this their annual feast to praise their Lord.

Each feels a portion of the holy flame.
  Why was our country made so great and strong?
Why does our genius Savage races tame?
  Why do the ends of earth to us belong?
  Why do all nations to this city throng?
Why does the great Controller bless our store,
  And deign our worldwide Empire to prolong,
But to enforce our duty more and more,
To spread our Saviour's rule from shore to shore?

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Up to the ceiling rise the hymns of praise:
A holy text is read: in prayer we kneel:
Upstanding one by one, with simple phrase
In turn the speakers our attention steal,
With thrilling tones, and words, that make us feel
The grandeur of the subject: our hearts glow
With love and pity in their varying phase:
In sweet alternatings of Joy and Woe
Our thoughts fly "Up on high," and "Down below."

"Down Below."

"Down below" we see the brave men toiling,
Bearing th' unsuffered sufferings of their Lord:
From no hard trial in weak fear recoiling,
Trusting to no flesh-arm, or human sword,
But to th' Eternal changeless Promise-Word.
Some have come home our sympathies to share,
Their plain, unvarnished story to record.
Some have remained for ever, where they were:
Christ on the Cross looked down upon them there.

Round them new germs of Christian life are springing,
New possibilities of human love:
In humble chapels Sabbath-bells are ringing,
And swarthy white-robed pastors gently move
Amidst their flocks to tell of Christ above.
Its giant fronds still waves the Palm on high;
The glorious sunsets still illume the grove:
All is unchanged in Nature's sea and sky;
The hearts of man have changed mysteriously.

Upraised on high the ensign of the Cross,
While the stone-idol from its shrine is thrown:
The Savage man for Christ counts all things loss:
No longer hideous rites and crimes are known,
Since to his heart the holier path is shown:

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By his side walk his children, and his wife,
Who meekly shares his labours, his alone:
Joys of the present, hopes of future life,
Blot out the memory of forgotten strife.

"Up Above."

"Up above" the roof and walls seem falling,
And Christ's great promise to us is fulfilling:
He will be with His children at their calling:
His presence now this crowded Hall is filling;
Jesus is here, all fear and doubtings stilling:
His power supports, His mercies never fail:
He sees His Servants gathered here are willing
Humbly to do His work, though weak and frail:
Rise up, rise up, the Risen Lord to hail!

As the scene clears for Human eye to view,
We see the Saints and Angels round His throne;
The holy Martyrs, and Confessors too:
We recognize some dear ones, as our own,
Our own lost friends, not lost, before us gone;
Our brothers and our sisters, firm and bold,
Who counted life dear but to lay it down,
His service and His honour to uphold,
And bring back erring sinners to His fold.

And they look down on us with solemn greeting,
Bidding us cleave to the same Gospel true,
And looking forward to a heavenly meeting,
To be with Christ, when all is made anew.
Oh! come, ye doubting ones, with me, and view
The low straw hut, where Saints their labours close
Midst tears and prayers of men of dusky hue,
For whom Christ died, for whom again He rose:
Let the kind Shepherd's arms His wandering lambs enclose!

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Words uttered here fall on the page below,
And are recorded by a faithful hand:
Then through the trumpet-sounding Press they blow
Over the length and breadth of British Land,
Telling the triumphs of Immanuel's band:
Making the hearts of faithful men to glow.
The morn is breaking at His high command,
And streaks of blessed light begin to show
The coming of the reign of Christ below.

Is not this day the sweetest of the year?
Spared are we still to see another May.
Is it not well for us to gather here,
And, counting up our failings, homage pay
To Him, who has accepted us this day
According to our will, not to our powers?
For what have we to offer, but what may
Spring from His gift, wealth, talents, labouring hours?
Thine be the glory, Lord! the blessing still be ours!

London, Exeter Hall, May 1, 1888 (*in my old seat*).

HYMN FOR BIBLE-SOCIETY MEETINGS.

"*Workers with Thee*" (2 Cor., vi, 1).

TO us the message came;
But, Lord, to Thy great name,
All glory be!
The work is Thine, not ours:
Thy Grace falls down in showers:
We only lend our powers,
Working with Thee!

We thanks to Thee record
For those, who serve the Lord
So faithfully;
Ever on Angel's Wing
The Word of God to bring
To sin and suffering,
Working with Thee!

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His Holy Spirit then
Began to dwell with Men,
Mean though they be,
To touch their lips with fire
To sweep the sacred lyre,
And holy thoughts inspire,
Working with Thee!

And those, to whom the gift
Of Tongues is granted, lift
Their souls to Thee,
Rendering God's Holy Word
Into a new accord
Of sounds before ne'er heard,
Working with Thee!

Thy Grace then sanctifies
Art, which the printer plies
So skilfully:
Parts working out the whole,
While paper-reams unroll
Volumes to heal the Soul,
Working with Thee!

The stately ships unfold
Their sails: from deck to hold
One pearl we see:
The Word of God now shown
In every Language known
To man from Zone to Zone,
Working with Thee!

Out cries the Colporteur.
The man well-known *sans peur*,
"Give them to me!"
With Bibles on his back,
He stumps his ceaseless track;
No blessings can he lack,
Working with Thee!

The Harem-door opes wide,
The Bible-women glide
In with step free,
A welcome there to find,
To heal the sick and blind,
To light the darkened mind,
Working with Thee!

One ship lies in a calm
By islands fringed with palm,
Isles of the Sea:
The dusky natives bring
Their free-will offering,
And ask *one only thing*,
Working with Thee!

To us these days fulfil
The Patmos-vision: still
We Angels see
Bearing th' Eternal Scroll,
A message to the Soul
Of Man from Pole to Pole,
Working with Thee!

And, when before Thy Throne,
Trusting in Thee alone,
We all shall be,
May some of us appear,
Lending a faithful ear
Thy blessed words to hear,
"You worked with Me."

Exeter Hall, May 4, 1892.

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PREFACE TO MY VOLUME ON "THE FEATURES WHICH APPEAR IN ALL RELIGIONS."

AND now my Summer-task is ended. Roll
Up all my papers, and my volumes close:
From parts divergent I have sought a whole,
Complete and perfect, as before me rose
The variant Message, which from Heaven's abode
Came down to Earth to lead poor man to God.

Each Message but reveals th' unchanging plan
Of Love and Kindness to poor Human kind,
And like a sunflower turns the heart of man,
Groping through darkness his Soul's sun to find:
No cavern is so dark, but through the night
One ray streams in of God's eternal light.

As his forefathers did in Abraham's time,
Still by the stream the Brahmin chants his prayers:
The Buddhist asks for nothing, but sublime
Emancipation from Life's dreary cares.
Oh! could no Angel Earth's hard path have trod
To whisper in his ear: "There is a God!"

Can we believe, that all-embracing Grace,
Which o'er Creation's waters used to glide,
Chose out one puny, graceless, Jewish race,
And shut the gates of Hope on all beside:
Let them indulge their passions and their crimes,
And raise up trophies to outlive all Times.

Buddha, Confucius, Plato, Socrates,
Left Words of gold, which no age can destroy;
They please, when all things else have ceased to please:
But of those holy men how great the joy,
Had God's own Message by their Soul been heard;
If one still voice their inward heart had stirred!

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"Call nothing common and unclean" applies
Not to the Future only, but the Past:
To one He gives, to others He denies:
According to His will man's lot is cast:
He will not reap, where He has never sown,
Or claim obedience, where He is not known.

Full many a heathen lived out holy days,
Died for his altar, for his country strove:
Spake hymns Heaven-prompted, full of prayers and praise,
And words of Wisdom, Piety, and Love.
Fell not Thy shadow, Lord! on those behind,
When on the Cross Thou suffered for Mankind!

Poor little children die, who knew no spot,
Unconscious of their life, and undefiled:
Can we suppose, that torture is their lot?
Were not the heathen races like a child?
Salvation is the goal of Heaven's great plan,
And justifies the ways of God to man.

I hope through Him, who has the power to save,
To be with Christ, which is far better—far.
To those, to whom the Holy Spirit gave
To speak like Christ, oh! can there be a bar?
For Socrates and Buddha if there be
No place in Heaven, what place, alas! for me!

Let us adore Thee in Thy fulness, Lord,
With the Creator on Creation's day,
When Thou rejoiced with Him in full accord,
And Morning-stars commenced their joyous way:
And when on Calvary's mount the palm was won,
All was completed, and God's purpose done.

Eastbourne, September 26, 1893.

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TOLERANCE.

(A TALE FROM THE PERSIAN.)

ABRAHAM was seated just outside his tent,
Expecting friends, on social cheer intent:
Before his eyes an ancient man appears,
Weighed down with burden of long miles, and years:
Abraham in Oriental fashion rose,
Begged him to be his guest and take repose.
In courteous conversation passed the meal,
And each for each respect began to feel:
But when the servants cleared away the board,
Abraham stood up alone and thanked the Lord.
And those, who sat at meat, with reverent air
Echoed his thanks, then closed their eyes in prayer;
Except the stranger, who with look benign
Looked round upon them all, and made no sign.
Abraham rebuked him. "Art thou silent, when
We thank our God for His good gifts to men?"
The stranger quietly replied, that he
Except the "Fire" knew no Divinity.
Exceeding anger Abraham's bosom tore:
He rose to drive the stranger from his door;
When a celestial light made him aware,
That a high Messenger of God stood there,
Who calmly spoke. "Abraham, thy God appears
"To grant this man a life of ninety years.
"Him has He fed with oil, and wine, and corn;
"And given him children's children to be born:
"If God, who knows each heart, restrains His ire,
"Because His creatures stoop to worship Fire,
"Are you to drive this man from your abode,
"And be less merciful to him than God?
"Listen, while I expound the ceaseless Grace
"Of God's high dealings with the Human race:
"'T is not the symbol, creed, or form of prayer,
"Which Man's relation to his God declare:

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"He reads the heart: full many a Saint has trod
"This earth, nor once pronounced the name of God
"A God impersonal can thee inspire:
"He in his ignorance sees God in Fire.
"Others with simple and untutored minds
"See God in clouds and hear Him in the winds:
"Some to the Heavenly Host their homage pay:
"Some, grovelling lower, bow to gods of clay.
"To each of His beloved God gives rest:
"Many the Soul, which Love of God has blest.
"The heart of Man for his Creator burns,
"Just as the Sunflower to the Sunbeam turns.
"To some God sends His Revelation's light,
"And yet leaves Millions in darkest night:
"He claims no homage, where He is not known;
"He will not reap, where He has never sown.
"Darest thou dispute His Wisdom or His Might?
"Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?
"Ask thou the Heathen, whose beclouded sense
"Scarce knows 'twixt Death and Life the difference,
"Who makes the beauteous fruit on trees to grow;
"Piles up the hills; lets conquering rivers flow;
"Sends rain in season; fills the fields with corn;
"Lets cattle multiply; and babes be born?
"Will he not bow the head and point to Heaven,
"Feel for the Hand, by which all is given?
"Millions on Millions pass away unhealed,
"Because God never has Himself revealed;
"The knowledge of His Truth Man has not known,
"Because no Prophet has that knowledge shown:
"And if, till Time be full, His Will He veils,
"Where is the sin, if Man in duty fails?
"If thy rash anger more restrained had been,
"This aged man his error might have seen:
"For Faith may fail, and Hope itself remove;
"Poor Human hearts are won by conquering Love.
"Abraham, look down the vale of woe, and tears,
"Through which thy children must pass many years:

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"Thou wilt descry worked-out a wondrous Plan,
"Thy Lord, thy God, disguised in form of Man.
"Rejoice, that thou far off hast seen His day:
"Be still and silent: turn thee in and pray:
"Pray that, their errors and their blindness past,
"All God's poor children may find God at last."

London, December 31, 1893.

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Chapter XX.

PERIOD VIII.

AFTER INDIA, 1868–1899. FOURTH DECADE, 1898–

1898.

I ENTER upon this Decade with fear and trembling, as I am not likely to live it out. The commencement of the year found all my eighteen Committees, Boards, and Councils, in full swing, and my literary work fairly swept up to date. I presented ten volumes from my Oriental Library to the Oxford Indian Institute, out of respect to my dear life-friend Monier-Williams: the Librarian chose his books from my Catalogue.

I found, that I had sent the Copy of my Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series V, to my Printer on January 4, 1897, and on January 4, 1898, came the last Proofs: however, great additions were made to the Series before the two Volumes were published. There is this difference betwixt a child of the body, and a child of the brain: the former gives no trouble before birth, but a great deal after; the latter gives an extraordinary amount of trouble before birth, and nothing but joy and satisfaction afterwards.

I took stock, book by book, of my reduced Linguistic Library. My books recall long years of pleasant labour, and midnight oil. I took in hand the preparation of Indices for my Commonplace Book, and folios of separate papers; these may possibly be of use to those, who come after me. I gave a Lecture at the Church Missionary College on the Religions of India: I cannot but see, that there is a failure in our system of Training Men for the field: they ought to have a larger scope of instruction so as to hold their own in argument against the learned non-Christian Public. However, it is throwing words away to make suggestions of Reform: I can only hope that the Twentieth Century will produce a Reformer.

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Among the old Manuscripts which I turned up, I found an account of the Conquest of the Panjáb, which I had sent to my dear Father in March, 1846, fifty-two years ago, and which had come back to me on his death. It proved to be a copy from my Journal, but it was so interesting, that I had it reprinted in my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V. The story commenced from January 10, 1846, when we crossed the Satlaj. From my Journal I prepared another Chapter on the Conquest of the Panjáb, dating back to December 10, 1845: this will appear in my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series VI. Both were published in the *Calcutta Review*, and several Veteran Soldiers called upon me to thank me for these glimpses of the Past.

My dear friend and Colleague in the office of Secretary of the Board of Missions of Canterbury, Bishop John Selwyn, had been ailing, and died suddenly: this threw a great deal of work on me, and the necessity of looking out for a successor. I was subject to feelings of great depression of spirits, and weakness of body. Years were telling upon me. I required more repose. The last Chapter of Ecclesiastes described my state, but I wished to work on to the end, and that the Angel of Death should find me with my pen in my hand, trying to justify my prolonged existence by doing something for my fellow-creatures, in gratitude for the mercies, which my Heavenly Father had heaped upon me, sparing me, when so many had fallen around me.

The inspection of my letters from dead friends had filled me with infinite sadness. At the same time there was an accumulation of letters to my Parents from the days of my Boyhood until the day of their death in 1861 and 1866. I never caused them a moment of anxiety by illness, or any unfortunate affair, or ever asked them for a sixpence, or received anything. One thing I did religiously: I wrote to one or other of them every Sunday, and, when the news of their death reached me in India, there was the last cover directed to them, and stamped for the

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"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series VI.

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next Sunday, but never sent. In return they kept the file of my letters, and they were restored to me; I have had them bound, and they reflect my real feelings more than the regular Journal kept by myself every week, which did not perish in the Mutinies of 1857, as the volumes accompanied me home on my furlough. It is the least that an exile can do, to write regularly to friends at home.

The business of the Board of Missions of Canterbury being left to me, I drew up and printed an official Narrative of the work done during the last ten years, and a separate non-official pamphlet of suggestions.

I went to Bath for a few weeks, and there I commenced in earnest my "Life-Memoir," for which I had heaped up materials. I found that I had been co-opted as Guardian of the Poor for Chelsea for another three years. At our Annual Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in May, allusion was made to the great loss Oriental Science had suffered in the death of Dr. Bühler of Vienna. At the Anniversary Meeting of the previous year he had been seated by my side, and now we had to lament his untimely death by a boat-accident on the Lake of Constance. He was soon followed to the grave by another valued friend and correspondent, residing at Vienna, Friederich Müller, to whom I was much attached.

I went down with a party of friends to be present at Bradfield College for the performance of Euripides' "Antigone," in the original Greek, by the members of the College: there was one lady performer, and the representation of the whole was excellent.

In the course of setting my house in order, I had to consider the literary works, which I had in different degrees of progress in my portfolio; so I went carefully through all, and divided them into three Classes. I. Those which were ready, or in a fair way to be got ready, for the Printer: foremost was my "Life-Memoir," which would block the road for some time: then there was a Review of A. Wallace's new book, "The Wonderful Century." II. New urgent subjects were always cropping up, which could not be held back. I promised several papers for the *Reporter*

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series VI, p. 1.

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of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, and one for the *Intelligencer* of the Church Missionary Society. III. There was a class of papers which appeared like dreams, but which I should like to take up, if my Life and Faculties were spared a little longer. The materials are collected: will there be time found at the age of 80?

I sent a Paper to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* on "Pictographs, or Archaic Forms of Script," to which my attention had been drawn by a Paper by Arthur Evans in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, regarding Crete. We seem to be getting to a stratum below the earliest Hieroglyphics and Cuneiform. There is work for the Scholars of the Twentieth Century being piled up.

The news reached us of the death of William Ewart Gladstone. He had been before my eyes, and an object of admiration, since 1840, when he came down to Eton to examine us for the Newcastle-Scholarship. I feel that he was the greatest man of my contemporaries.

We had our usual Meeting of the Board of Missions, and I rejoiced to be present. Bishop Ingham, late Bishop of Sierra Leone, was chosen to be our Clerical Secretary in the place of our dear lost friend, John Selwyn. Personally I was glad to be relieved of the responsibility while the post was vacant. I attended this year the Annual Reception at Haileybury College, which I had known so well from 1840 to 1842. It has long ceased to be connected with India, but it has a good reputation as a Public School: the general appearance of the place is the same.

In July I found that I had completed the process of putting my literary house in order, and made a complete survey of the Orbit of my studies: Library, Correspondence, Journals, Notebooks, Manuscripts, Newspaper-cuttings, Reviews, and my own Publications. I know not how long I may be allowed to scribble on, and read on, before I fall asleep. My laboratory, or ἐργαστήριον, is in good order, and there is another Decade's work before me, if it be permitted; if not, I have done what I could, and follow the example of good Bishop Lightfoot, who, when called away leaving unfinished work, rose up, laid down his pen, and obeyed the summons.

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I attended in July a Meeting in St. Paul's Cathedral to introduce additional Lay Readers. We all walked in procession in our surplices. No doubt this movement is a good one. I took three weeks' service at my Workhouse-Chapel in Chelsea. I drew up and printed suggestions to the Church Missionary Society to reform certain portions of their practice on the occasion of their Centenary. I had hoped, that some obvious reforms would be secured, and some were indeed attained, but in Religious Committees there is a dead weight of stupidity, which no arguments could reach.

"Sine insanum vulgum facere quod vult, quia vult facere quod vult."

Even the British and Foreign Bible-Society Committee, although composed exclusively of Laymen, and representing all the Christian Denominations of England, is on some subjects impervious to reason. I quote the report of the Press:

"In July Dr. Cust moved in the Committee of the Bible-Society "'that women be eligible to seats' thereon. He does not propose that "women should always fill a certain proportion of seats, but only that "'if the name of a woman be proposed' it shall not be ruled out as "ineligible. Dr. Cust bases his plea on two classes of precedents: the "case of the learned Societies and that of Boards of Guardians. It "is perfectly true, that the C.M.S., although not receiving ladies as "members of its General Committee, does officially employ their aid. "Dr. Cust argues that the whole drift of modern feeling is towards the "use under such circumstances of duly qualified women; but it must "still remain doubtful, whether the work of the Bible-Society is of such "a kind as to make the change imperative. The Bible-Society has never "been backward in its support of what may be called the woman's "movement. It was, we believe, the first institution, that opened its doors "to the admission of women to its Annual Meetings, and it owes to the "sex too great a debt to offer, or to even seem to offer, a slight upon "the capacity or the usefulness of women's work. But before changes "of so radical a type as that proposed by Dr. Cust are resolved upon,

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" the Governing Body are bound to inquire whether they are desired " by the Society's friends. In the present instance no such desire was " apparent, and the Committee rightly, as it seems to us, rejected the " proposal."

I wish to be remembered after I am gone as one totally opposed to official jobs, foolish prejudices, and unnatural ostracisms of particular classes of the Community. In the time of the Apostle Paul, Women had not risen to the high level of intelligence and holiness, to which they have since attained in the reign of Queen Victoria; yet let anyone read the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and form his opinion as to what were the views of Paul. Let those who can read Greek, and have studied Church History, read verse 1 of that chapter, and the words:

" *Φοίβην . . . οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς Ἐκκλησιάς.*"

This is the only instance of the word being applied to an individual.

I presented this year a book of considerable value, but of no use to me, to the Library of the University College, Gower Street, as the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society had been already supplied. The late King of Holland had ordered the compilation and publication of a monster-work on the Temple of Booroo Boodoor in Java. If costly engravings and gigantic volumes, and great bulk, would make a Temple famous, this ought to have succeeded. His Majesty graciously presented me with a copy, and the volumes long encumbered my shelves, until at last I found a more suitable home for them. I had to commence collecting and printing the material for a Sixth Series of my Linguistic and Oriental Essays. I arranged that as a Review, or a separate Essay, or any other paper, was published, a copy should in all cases be prepared for this new Series, and the sheets could accumulate, until there was enough for an ordinary volume, or till the pen fell from my hand.

I spent my Summer at Lowestoft, and had a nice study, and many enjoyable hours of reading and writing. I heard my old Eton schoolfellow Bishop Ryle, aged 82, preach twice at St. John's Church, and had a pleasant conversation with him. I also had interesting talks with my old friend

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Professor Cowell, of Cambridge. I had been twice before at Lowestoft, and I succeeded in finding out the house, where I stayed on each occasion. The first was in 1829, and the house was a comfortless lodging in the Old Town at the foot of the cliff. The second was in 1871, and I soon found the comfortable house in the New Town, which I had occupied.

On my return to London I had an interesting interview. Dr. Welldon was appointed Bishop of Calcutta. We had never met, but I greatly admired him. I asked for an interview quite alone, and he gave me one at the Athenæum Club. We went over all the difficulties of the Missions in India, which I knew well, and I conveyed to him my opinion on certain subjects, in which he appeared to agree, though of course he reserved his judgment, being new to the country, viz., the independence of the Native Church under Native Suffragan Bishops, the supply of indigenous theological Literature, and several other points.

A great surprise and joy was in store for me. My eldest daughter, who was married and settled at Cambridge, brought me a copy of her newly published Book:

"Greek Sculpture with Story and Song."

It was beautifully illustrated, and prepared specially for young people of both sexes. I knew, that it was in preparation, and was delighted to receive the first copy; I at once ordered eighty copies for distribution to friends, Colleges, and Libraries. The year closed happily. In the course of the perusal of my letters to my dear mother during my first bereavement in 1864 (for she did not live long enough to hear of my second bereavement in 1867), I read with tears the expressions of despondency, which flowed from my pen thirty-four years ago, when I was still physically strong, in the period of my manhood. I wrote to my mother, that all hope was gone from me in this world, that I had better creep into a corner and die. This is a lesson to those, who read these lines: "Wait on the Lord, and never despair: tarry His leisure: His ways are not our ways." If your life be prolonged, if happiness and usefulness are granted to you (for the first is impossible without the

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second), be grateful, and take courage, and try to communicate that courage to younger brethren, who are in similar affliction.

Thus ended the year 1898. I sat up by the window to hear the clock strike and the bells ring. Good year, farewell!

Ebenezer!

1899.

Bishop Welldon after consecration visited the British and Foreign Bible-Society, Indian Christian Literature-Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. I was at all the three Societies to welcome him, and at the last in a speech congratulated the Church in India on his appointment, and wished him God-speed. By a singular chance I confided to him the names of the two men, whom I thought most fit for the vacant Dioceses of Madras and Lahór, viz., Whitehead, and Lefroy, and a few months later my prediction came true: they were the fittest, and therefore were elected.

I inspected, page by page, the five folio volumes of my "Private Papers," from my schooldays, 1833, till now. They are to me interesting. On the 6th of January the first proofs of my "Life-Memoir" came: so this great work is launched. The appearance quite satisfied me. I trust, that my life may be spared to conclude it. I feel overworked, and have had sad hours of depression, but I must go on to the end: so long as my services are needed I must give them. On the 9th I closed my accounts for 1898, and was glad to find, that my expenditure was within my income, with only a little margin.

On January 13 the Anti-Slavery Society sent a Deputation to the Foreign Office. I spoke as Chairman of the Committee, as the post of President was vacant. It had been my practice for many years to enter on the last page of my Annual Diary the names of all my friends, who had passed away. I collected all these pages, cut out from each Diary, in one cover, and looked sadly down the list, and wondered why I had been spared. The forms of the departed seem to enter at my door, and I heard their familiar voices, and they seemed still living.

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At the end of January I was summoned, with many others, to London-House, to assist, as a kind of Council, the Bishop of London in preparing his programme for the Church-Congress, to be held in London in October. The work was very interesting. We had several other meetings, and at length all was settled and printed.

In February I witnessed from the Gallery of the great Hall of the Church-House the two Houses of Convocation of Canterbury assembled together and addressed by the Archbishop. It was a striking sight. The times are perilous, and perhaps the vessel of the Church will not weather the storm.

On the 23rd of February I completed 78 years, and entered my 79th year. As a kind of birthday-present my Printer sent me the completed sheets of Part I of my Life-Memoir. The division of the Book is very simple:

	Years.
Part I: Before India, 1821–1842	21
Part II: India, 1843–1867	25
Part III: After India, 1868–1899	32
	78

I had still a great deal of Copy to prepare to cover the period occupied by the four Decades "After India."

I went down to Bath for a couple of nights to see a sister of my mother, Lady Mabella Knox, who was born in 1801, and is therefore 98 this year, twenty years older than I am. I found her quite well, walking about the room, and sitting at the tea-table, and conversing like any other person advanced in years. To my eyes, who have seen her every year for thirty years, there is no change. Her life has been a peaceful and happy one, and is so to the end. I had to hurry back to London to take part in the London Diocesan Conference: when it was disposed of I went for a few days to Torquay. On my return to London I found myself caught in a cluster of Annual Meetings: the Anti-Slavery Society on May 28, in Finsbury Square, where I had to

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speak; the Church Missionary Society, in Exeter Hall; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in the Church-House; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly; the British and Foreign Bible-Society, in Exeter Hall; the Bishop of St. Albans Fund for East London, in Grosvenor House; the London Jews Society, in Exeter Hall. I was very tired of these formal demonstrations, but I could not go to one without going to all. I do not think that I shall ever go again.

My daily Bible-reading lately has been the Gospel of John in the Persian Language, the Gospel of Mark in Latin, and then in the Hebrew Version by Delitz. I feel more and more, that the burden imposed upon me is more than my strength can bear, and that I must reduce it, but it would cause me regret to throw up any one of my Societies, for I have personal friends in all. I attended the Centenary of the Religious Tract-Society: a great breakfast at 9 a.m. in Cannon Street Hotel, with speeches at table. This is something worse than Exeter Hall at 10 a.m. after breakfast.

We had in June a full Meeting of the Board of Missions. I had a good deal to do with the preparation of the Agenda, and some interesting subjects were included, especially the necessity of the independence of the Native Church, and the necessity of good *indigenous* Theological literature. On the following day there was a grand reception of Church and Mission-Workers in the Great Hall of the Church-House. Several hundreds were present. It was considered a success. I suspend my judgment. By the end of May I had got the Copy of the Third Decade of Part III of my Life-Memoir ready and sent to the Printer. So the real work is done: all that remains will occupy considerable time, but is not of essential importance.

I was glad to be able to give my Annual Address at the Mothers' Meeting in Short's Chapel, Seven Dials, on July 1. I am always kindly welcomed and listened to with attention. On the 3rd July I went down to Epsom to be present at the opening of another large Lunatic Asylum in its neighbourhood. This is the sixth in the outskirts of

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London. I have visited them all. This new one was at once filled up, as many patients were in private asylums from want of public accommodation. When I give a Lunacy-Order I am constantly obliged to suspend it until accommodation can be found. This increase of Lunacy is a remarkable phenomenon.

I was occupied this year on another work of a totally different nature. Being a member of a very large family on the side of both parents, it occurred to me to prepare Tables, detailing in proper order the names of the descendants of the grandfather of my father and of my mother, who were alive on Christmas Day, 1898. This scheme included first cousins, second cousins, and third cousins, embracing seven generations of men, two of which were dead, and five living. It required a great deal of letter-writing and inquiry, and is by no means completed yet. Each table will be printed when ready for distribution. As far as I can reckon, my blood-relations, descendants of my father's grandfather, amount to two hundred and forty, and of my mother's grandfather to about a hundred: this makes a cousinhood of four hundred souls, the issue of two men, who died in the reign of George III. The exact figure can only be known when the last Table is prepared. If each individual of the present generation multiplies himself in the Twentieth Century at this rate, there will be a tribe of first, second, and third cousins, actually blood-relations.

As I am unable, on account of old age, to attend the International Oriental Congress at Rome in October of this year, I propose to forward a communication, in the English and Italian languages, to be laid before the Congress. I chose the subject of "Language, its Birth, Life, and Death." It caused me a good deal of labour to compile it, but I am glad that it is done. The President of the Congress, my valued friend, Count Angelo di Gubernátis, wrote to beg, that I would come, but I could only do so at the risk of my health, perhaps of my life. It is a great disappointment to be absent. My son and daughter will both be members, and I shall, as usual, write a report of the Congress for the *Calcutta Review*, and send a copy of my communication to the same Review.

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I contributed a paper to the monthly periodical of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, describing the Committee of that Society in the last twenty years, and I propose, when leisure comes, to contribute further papers.

In June and July I was caught into a succession of Conversazioni, and Garden-parties. The first was a Conversazione of the Royal Geographical Society, in the beautiful Hall of the Museum of Natural History; the second was of the Royal Society in their own rooms in Burlington House. The Garden-parties were given by the Duke of Devonshire at Devonshire House, Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart at Chelsea Military Hospital, the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace, and Baroness Burdett-Coutts at Highgate. They were very pleasant. At the Lambeth Palace three schoolfellows in the years 1830–33 met. Two had not met for sixty-five years: the Hon. Dudley Fortescue, and the Rev. Francis Murray. I brought them together.

I went to Eton College, as usual, for the Annual Meeting of the Melanesian Mission, and spoke in support, suggesting an Annual Lecture on the subject to the elder boys. I had sent in a scheme of Reform of the practice of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the form of a pamphlet, which was widely circulated. The result was the appointment of a Committee to consider my proposals, and I was asked to attend this Committee and further explain my proposals. There seems a chance of something being done. I was invited to join two new Associations, to which I agreed:

1. League of Mercy to advance the resources of Hospitals.
2. League of Church Reform. It is too early to form an opinion. I became a subscriber, and as I approve of the objects, I joined the Association.

I attended the Meeting at the Guildhall of a third League for the maintenance of the British Empire. The Earls of Derby and Aberdeen, both Viceroys of Canada, spoke heartily in favour. There was no membership here.

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Other interesting Meetings in Church-House were attended by me, notably the Annual Meeting of the Indian Church, and of the Deaconesses' Fund at Lahór.

Proofs came in weekly, and my Printer assured me, that the Copy, as far as the end of Decade IV of "After India," would be out of hand by August 12, on which day I proposed to leave London for Torquay. I arranged with Messrs. Mansell, Art-Engravers, Oxford Street, for the preparation of the three Photographs to accompany my Memoir:

I. The youth, in all his boyish hopes, as Captain of the Oppidans at Eton College, 1840.

II. The man in his prime crushed by domestic affliction and abandoning his bright career: Allahabad, 1867.

III. The old man in his Study amidst his Books, looking back gratefully on the Past, serenely on the Present, and hopefully on the Future: London, 1896.

I arranged, with the same Art-Engravers, also for the preparation of three Diagrams, illustrating three features of the Memoir:

I. Orbit of Studies.
II. Orbit of Duties.
III. Orbit of Travels.

I finished the Copy of the "Concluding Remarks," and the work was completed, as the Appendices had been prepared in 1896, and the Index of Names and Subjects could only be made, when the whole was in print and on my table. I feel deeply grateful, that my Life and Health have been spared to accomplish this work.

Thus July passed quietly away. My family moved to Torquay in the last week of July, and I was to follow, when I escaped from the fetters of my Printer. The question arose in my mind as to the period, when the Memoir should cease: perhaps a few more days may be allowed to me, and many of my relatives on both sides got into the nineties, but it

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is of no use thinking of such things. Our time is in God's hands, and I determined to close my Memoir on July 31, 1899, with the burden of 78 years and a half on my head, and I have reached the last days of that period.

My contribution to the International Oriental Congress, "Language, its Birth, Life, Death," was completed and printed by Messrs. Spottiswoode and Son, and a translation into Italian is now also completed, and will be printed by the same Printer. I had a great pleasure on the day of writing these last lines in despatching a copy of this Essay to the Editor of the *Calcutta Review*, where it will no doubt appear in January, 1900. My special joy is, that this was my Fiftieth Contribution to that Review in the course of fifty-three years, from 1846 to 1899. My first was written in the camp of the Governor-General of India, before the City of Lahór, which we had just captured after fighting four heavy battles. It was my first contribution to a great Periodical, so I began to 'smell powder' and put pen to paper about the same time, and I feel very grateful. Appendix IV of this Memoir reminds me, that I have not been entirely faithful to this Periodical during my long life, as the names of seventy other Periodicals are recorded: still, the *Calcutta Review* was my first, if not my only, love.

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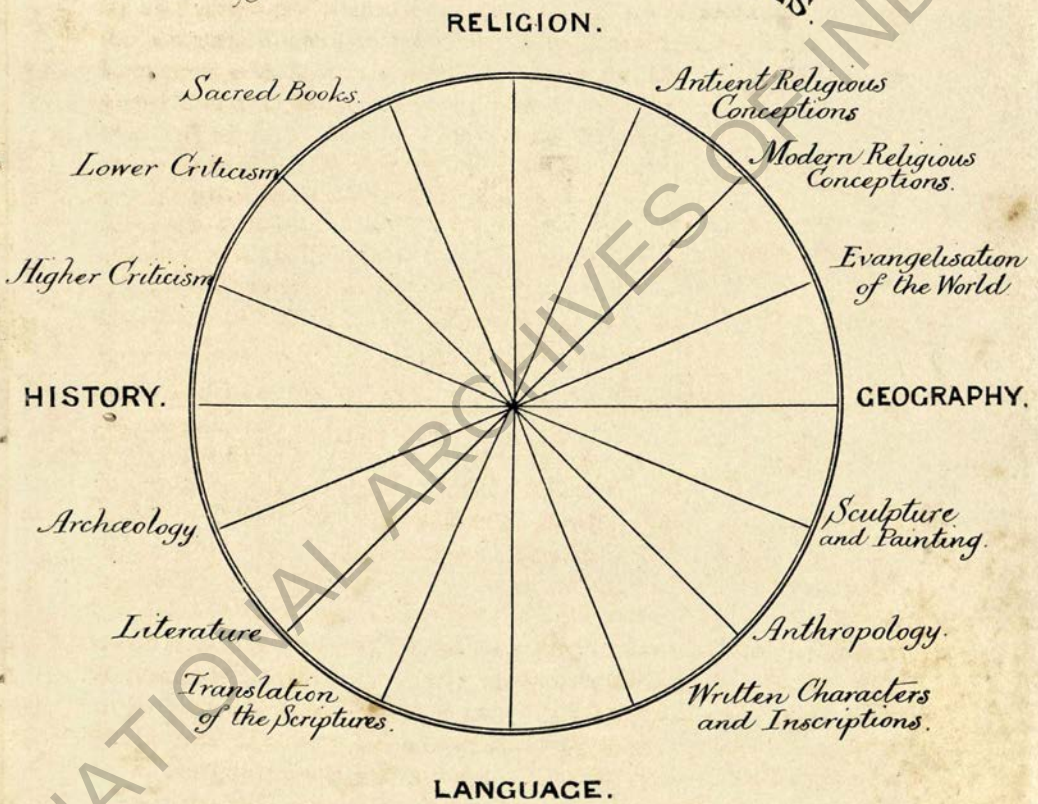
Orbit of my Life-Studies.



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Chapter X.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

IN the course of the Period traversed in these pages, from 1828 to 1898, mighty changes in Human Thought have taken place. In narrating the History of the Past, unless one has contemporary journals and letters, the difficulty is to avoid importing the enlarged views and developed knowledge of the Present, for it is necessary to get back to the point, when well-informed people for the Period were ignorant of what is notorious now. It is of course easy enough to keep Railways and Telegraphs out of a Period, when they did not exist, but not the gradual expansion of Thought, which is formed insensibly. I remember Bishop Selwyn the elder leaving Eton to go out to New Zealand. Nothing was known of the Languages, and little of the Geography, of Oceania. Of the great subject of Religion in its historic aspect, nothing was known till certain great authors published their books. The secrets of Philology were unknown until Bopp published his Comparative Grammar. Dr. Keate, Head Master of Eton till 1834, would have flogged a boy, if he had asserted any such extravagant views, as are now adopted in the Public School Latin Grammar. One learned man of the time reported, that Chinese was so peculiar a Language, that it was not possible to translate the Bible into it, as the Language did not admit of translation. I have tried to draw attention to the Progress of Knowledge in my two Papers: "The Wonderful Century" and "The Advance of Knowledge on certain Subjects in the last Half-Century."

"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series V.
"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Series VI.

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Of course there will be the same, or greater, progress before the middle of the Twentieth Century, and that little tyrant, my great-grandchild, still unborn, will talk pityingly of the ignorance of the men of the Nineteenth Century. Let him do so, *so long as Knowledge is enlarged.* Every real life is a lesson for the next generation: something to imitate, something to avoid. Hope may be fortified by the sight of comfort after sorrow, and contentment after bitter disappointment. Besides, every true man is a debtor to Posterity. He who has no regard for the Future, has little real regard for the Present. It is the vague idea of the dim and remote Future, that inspired the building of Pyramids, of Cathedrals, of great systems of National Instruction, of wise Laws, and immortal Poems. Unborn generations exercise an influence over us greater than we think. To impress on my readers this idea is the chief motive-power of this volume.

We must not despise the men of the Past, because we know more than they did. We unquestionably do so, because we stand towards them as our successors will stand to us. We occupy the Platform, which they have reared. We profit by their successes and failures. I have often thought of this, when I stood in the banqueting-hall in the house of my Ancestors, and looked round. That massive sideboard laden with plate supplied them with food generation after generation, and will go on doing so long after we are swept away. The dead and gone, who once lorded it in this hall, and had their own way, now look out of their pictures on the walls upon the same scene, smiling benignantly. They thought that they knew everything, though there were no daily Newspapers, no Steamships or Railways, no Telegraph or Penny Post. We must learn a lesson from them also, always to be peeping into the Future, and bringing everything of the Present to solid mathematical proof. The ignorance of our ancestors should shake our overweening self-confidence, and make us feel less confident, that we possess all knowledge.

If I were called upon to give advice to a young student, whom God had gifted with ability, industry, and leisure, I should say that Latin and Greek are indeed the best mental gymnastics, that the world ever knew, but the man, who wishes to know something, must in addition learn

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French, Italian, and German; Hebrew and Arabic, to give an idea of the Semitic system; Sanskrit and Persian, for the same purposes with regard to the Indo-European system. Then, fully armed, he will be able to attack with some chance of success the older and dead Linguistic systems. I only recommend what I practise. I should have been poorly equipped without my eight European and eight Asiatic languages ready in my arsenal.

And with regard to another chief object of this volume, I may venture to record, that a few weeks ago I met a retired Colonial Bishop, and I told him of my Life-Memoir, its character and object. That object was to persuade retired Anglo-Indians, at the age of 50, to do something to justify a prolonged existence as Men of the World, and as Christians to evidence their gratitude to God, who had spared their lives, when so many had fallen on each side of them. My friend interrupted me: "Oh, "if men, when they go home from the Colonies in middle life, could only "read such sentiments! It is not probable, that all will have the same "chances, the same opportunities, the same independence of means, "unbroken health, freedom from vulgar cares, pain, and want, and, may "I add, may not all be gifted with the same kind of talents (in the sense "of the New Testament Parable of 'The Talents'), but all could do some-"thing, and be the better and happier for it."

Such a plan of life, if grounded on Faith in Christ, may blot out past sorrows, and smooth the path that leads to the grave. The voice of such a man will be missed in Committee: his memory will be gently alluded to, when his fellow-labourers meet, and miss his peculiar gifts. If he has committed his thoughts to Press, he may possibly be quoted in distant cities, such as Chicago, sometimes in sympathetic approval, sometimes with stern condemnation, until after lapse of years oblivion will steal over the whole particular period; but, if he did what he could, if he made the best use which he could of the *one* Talent entrusted to his charge, and if his eyes peeped through the half-opened door of the Future, and his suggestions floated on the foremost wave of Holy Progress, is it not sufficient?

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This, in fact, is not the Life-Memoir of any particular man, but of an ordinary Englishman, whose period of existence covered eight decades of the Nineteenth Century, who had the advantage of the best Education of his time, and ample means, and tried to make the span of his life useful to his fellow-creatures, whose hours were not whiled away in killing birds, catching fish, playing cards or billiards, and smoking tobacco, but in travelling over his own and foreign countries, and making the acquaintance of learned and business-men; who enjoyed reading, writing, attending the assembly of his fellow-men, speaking on platforms, doing something for the poor, ignorant, and suffering. He is very near the end of his tether now, and does not regret how his last thirty years have been spent, since he unwillingly left India with his term of duty unperformed. No doubt he set a bad example in deserting his post, but, if he had stayed and died during the next six months, much, which has been done, would have been left undone.

I venture to print a list of my Publications from 1840 to 1899.

1. ETON ADDRESSES TO KING WILLIAM IV. 1840.
2. HAILEYBURY-OBSERVER CONTRIBUTIONS. 1840–1842.
3. CALCUTTA-REVIEW CONTRIBUTIONS. 1846–1899. 50 in 54 years.
4. HISTORY OF COCKAYNE-HATLEY CHURCH. 1851.
5. MANUALS FOR GUIDANCE OF NATIVE OFFICIALS IN THE URDU LANGUAGE. 1855 to 1859.
6. PANJÁB REVENUE-MANUAL. 1865.
7. REVENUE-LAW OF NORTH-WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA. 1867.
8. LAND-REVENUE-PROCEDURE FOR NORTHERN INDIA. 1870.
9. MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES. 1878.
10. LES RELIGIONS ET LES LANGUES DE L'INDE (FRENCH). 1880.
11. LA RELIGIONE ET LE LINGUE DELL' INDIA (ITALIAN). 1882.
12. LAS RELIGIONES Y LOS IDIOMAS DE LA INDIA (SPANISH). 1884.
13. Θρησκείαι καὶ Γλώσσαι τῆς Ἰνδίας (GREEK). 1884.
14. MODERN LANGUAGES OF AFRICA. 2 Vols. 1883.
15. LES LANGUES DE L'AFRIQUE (FRENCH). 1885. (GERMAN. 1881.)
16. LE LINGUE DELL' AFRICA (ITALIAN). 1885.
17. MODERN LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA. 1887. (GERMAN. 1887.)
18. LES RACES ET LES LANGUES DE L'OCEANIE (FRENCH). 1888.
19. MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASIAN-GROUP. 1887.

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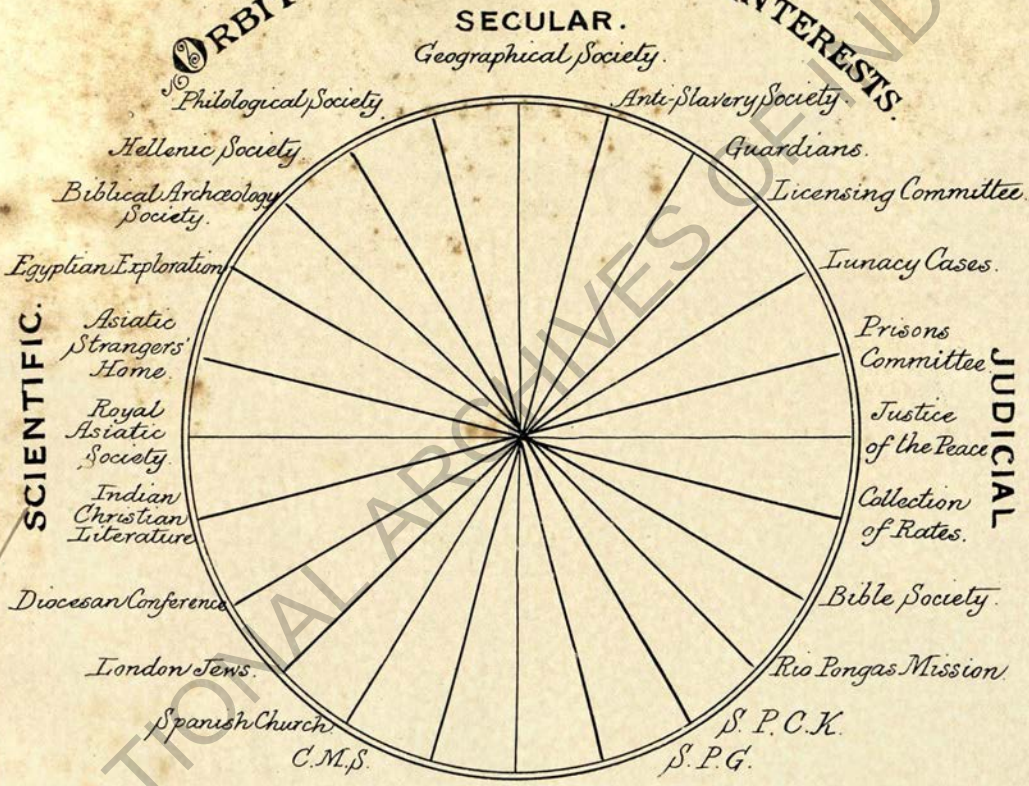
Orbit of my Duties and Interests.



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20. LANGUAGES OF THE TURKI BRANCH OF THE URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY. 1889. (GERMAN AND ENGLISH.)
21. LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Series I. 1880.
22. LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Series II. 1887.
23. LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Series III. 1891.
24. LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Series IV. 1895.
25. LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Series V. 2 Vols. 1898.
26. PICTURES OF INDIAN LIFE. 1881.
27. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SHRINES OF LOURDES, ZARAGOSSA, LORETTO, ETC. 1885 and 1892.
28. POEMS OF MANY YEARS AND PLACES. First Series. 1887.
29. SUMMER-HOLIDAYS OF AN ETON BOY. 1887.
30. THE SORROWS OF AN ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE. 1889.
31. NOTES ON MISSIONARY SUBJECTS. 1889.
32. BIBLE-LANGUAGES. 1890.
33. CLOUDS ON THE HORIZON, OR THE VARIOUS FORMS OF RELIGIOUS ERROR. 1890.
34. BIBLE-TRANSLATIONS. 1890.
35. AFRICA REDIVIVA, OR MISSIONARY OCCUPATION OF AFRICA. 1891. (FRENCH AND ENGLISH.)
36. ADDRESSES ON BIBLE-DIFFUSION. 1892.
37. ESSAY ON THE METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION OF THE WORLD. 1894.
38. COMMON FEATURES, WHICH APPEAR IN ALL THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD BEFORE ANNO DOMINI. 1895.
39. THE GOSPEL-MESSAGE. 1896.
40. POEMS OF MANY YEARS AND PLACES. Second Series. 1897.
41. FIVE ESSAYS ON RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS. 1898.
42. LIFE-MEMOIR. 1899.
43. LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Series VI. *In the Press.*

I consider it a great honour, that in many of the Biographies of the distinguished men, by the side of whom my career in India lay, my existence is kindly alluded to. I may mention the lives of George Broadfoot, James Thomason, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Henry Maine, Lord Lawrence, Sir George Campbell, and Sir Richard Temple: all but the last have passed away. Still more gratifying has it been to hear, that last year the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, an entire stranger to me, as he entered the service after I had left India, at a Meeting at my own old District of Hoshyarpúr, which I had created in 1846, after the lapse of fifty-two years mentioned my name with commendation. Few of

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those who knew me still survive. I have one Native friend, Sirdar Amín Chand, who still lives there, and sends loving letters to me. I engaged him in the public service at the age of 18, with earrings in his ears. He served the State well, and was rewarded with Titles, and Grants of Land, and is now advanced in years, living in the same house close to Hoshyarpúr, where I found him. At a Meeting of the East India Association in London in March of this year, at which I attended, the late Chief Justice of the Panjáb, Sir Charles Roe, of whose existence I had never previously heard, made the following remarks, which I listened to with gratitude, and with head bowed over the table, for it is something to be remembered still after the lapse of half a century:

"It was the first time that he had had the pleasure of meeting "Mr. Cust personally, but his name was a household word to all those "engaged in the administration of Land-Revenue in the Panjáb. He "was really the father of the Panjáb Revenue-System, and, if later "Officers had been able to go further into questions of Custom than it "was possible for their first Officers to do, the reason was, that the first "Officers laid the foundation so well, that those, who came after them, "were able to build upon their foundations."

But still more grateful do I feel for the tributes which came across the Atlantic from unknown writers to my utterances on the great subject of Religion. I quote three taken at random:

"And there is a brief article by Dr. Cust on the subject of the Holy "Coat of Trèves in the *English Churchman* for March, 1892, which is well "worth reading by those who have not time for further study of the "subject. Dr. Cust was spoken of by *The Times* recently as the greatest "living authority on Missions. He is a man of very considerable learning "and unique experience, and is as free from bias in such a matter as any "man is likely to be. He visited Trèves in the Autumn of 1891, while "he was on the Continent for the purpose of attending the Geographical "Congress in Switzerland, and the Congress of the Roman Catholic "Church of Belgium. The Holy Coat was displayed at Trèves for six "weeks ending Sunday, October 4th, 1891. A priest ticked off the

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"number of pilgrims by a counting machine, and the total for those "six weeks amounted, as stated above, to 1,925,130."—*Charge of the "Archbishop of Jamaica.*

A letter from the Newberry Library of Chicago, June, 1899, reached me in July:

"Allow me to take advantage of the opportunity to express my "pleasure in the perusal of your works, particularly as an authority on "Languages, while establishing the Newberry Reference-Library. Large "Libraries are new to our country, and I know of no one single author, "who has contributed more practical information on subjects, which claim "the attention of to-day, than yourself. On the Mission-question you are "far in advance of present views and methods. I desire to scatter a few "of your ideas in this great Western City.

"Very respectfully, S. B. KIMBALL."

Professor Noble, of Chicago, in his late great work on the Conversion of Africa, expresses himself in appreciative terms of my labours for the Languages and Missions of that Continent. They are so flattering, that I read them with gratitude, but forbear to quote them. It satisfies me, that my labours have not been in vain. After my own dear India the interests of Africa have been very near my heart.

In the late Volume on the History of the Church Missionary Society, I am informed, as I have not had time to read the book, that the author alludes to me, as having been a staunch friend of Mission-work for half a century. This is indeed a high reward, better than professional success, titles, and wealth, to be recorded as having striven, however inadequately, to advance the cause of the Gospel.

It must be admitted, that a Life could only have been lived, and a Memoir such as the present one could only be compiled, under certain conditions.

1. An abundance of leisure.
2. Freedom from any financial cares.
3. A quiet home in a great City like that of London.

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4. Emancipation from all social duties.
5. Non-existence of tastes for any other form of amusement.
6. Freedom from pain, or weakness of brain, eye, or hand.
7. Free access to Public Libraries, and a good Private Library, constantly supplied with books of the latest date.
8. A restricted Orbit of Studies and Duties.
9. A systematic mind, holding fast to a fixed purpose.
10. Continuous and pertinacious industry.

And in addition to the above I must add another list of requirements.

1. Familiarity with some of the Ancient and Modern Languages of Europe and Asia.
2. Acquaintance with English and Foreign Scholars and Students, based on kindly acts of mutual service.
3. A Notebook for all casual entries, as a help to the overladen Memory. I. Videnda. II. Agenda. III. Notanda. IV. Quaerenda. V. Legenda. VI. Visenda.
4. Commonplace Book for immediate copies of extracts of important passages met in the course of reading.
5. Classified Notebooks for names of Books, Authors, and their residences.
6. A careful record of all Books read, and the indication of the place, where copies of them, not in Private Libraries, can be found.
7. Reference Books, such as Grammars, Dictionaries, Cyclopædias, Technical Books.
8. A Series of Carton-Boxes for the preservation of papers of all kinds on each particular subject.

These matters may seem trivial, but are not so. The subjects grappled with are enormous, and not only must the Memory have its own intellectual pigeonholes, but care should be taken to create as orderly a system of record as is possible to aid the Memory: it saves

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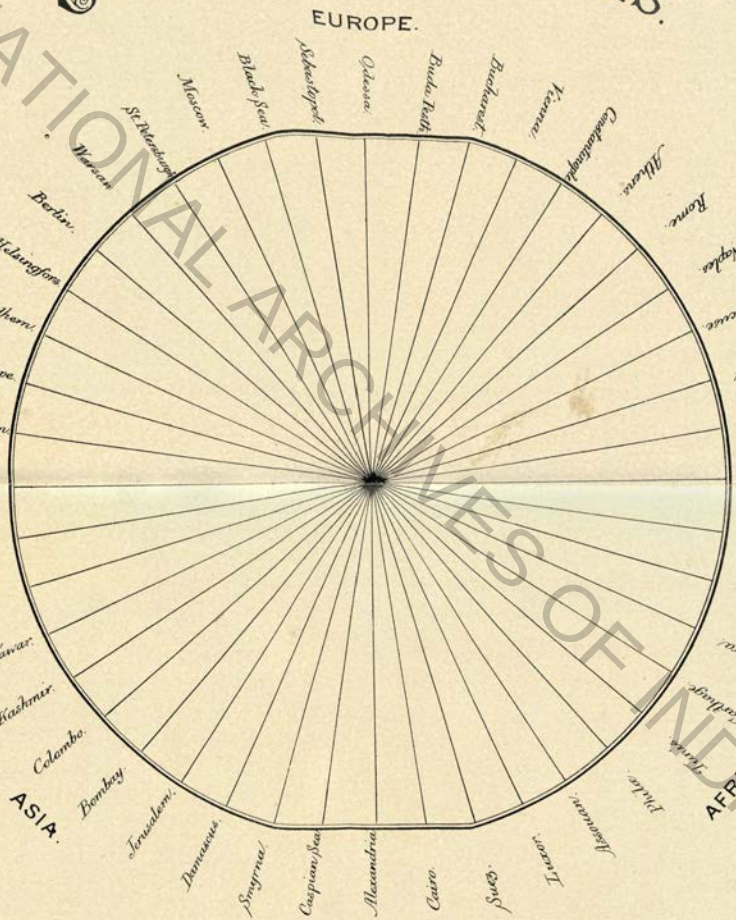
ORBIT OF MY TRAVELS.



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so much time, and heartsearching. "Oh, where shall I find those remarkable words which I read only last week!" is the cry. If the above machinery be adopted, they will be found at once.

But preceding all this must come the choice of subjects, and no two persons may perhaps select the same. A public Officer, such as an Anglo-Indian Official, receives a very large Annual Salary, counting by thousands of pounds, and his whole time belongs to the State. When I got free from office in 1868, and recovered my calm of mind, I turned to the subject of Language, as my special study. From the year 1858 I had dipped into the subject, but I found, that I had a great amount of leeway to make up, and for several years my attention was directed to reading Books, and making entries in my Notebooks.

I had, in 1857, sketched out a much wider Orbit of Study. The subjects were twenty-one in number. In 1867 I had grown older and wiser, and reduced my subjects to two: 'Language' and 'Religion.' Having the run of the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society, Royal Geographical Society, and India Office, a new world was opened out to me, as I read up the Periodicals of the last five years in the English, French, German, and Italian Languages, and I was amazed at my own ignorance. The world had indeed advanced in Science in Europe, while I was engaged in administering the affairs of great Provinces, and ruling millions in Asia. I went right through the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and my Notebook records the contents.

In 1876 I had so far advanced as to be able to classify the subdivisions, into which my two great subjects, 'Language' and 'Religion,' resolved themselves, so as to secure order and record to my studies. My thoughts and interests expanded with the progress and grasp of my daily reading. An ex-Anglo-Indian official is so far like a Chinese opium-eater, that he cannot readily give up his habit of daily absorption. My practice at last resolved itself into the periodical compilation of an Essay for a Periodical, or a separate volume. With the exception of the period occupied in my Annual Foreign Tours, I had no wish to stop the regular course of reading, and the name of every book read was recorded.

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The great Army of Oriental Authors of the Nineteenth Century was thus revealed to my astonished gaze. I had never heard even their names in India, but now in the Oriental Congresses I came into personal contact with the survivors of this noble band, and was condescendingly welcomed as a collaborateur. I felt this to be a new life, and was glad to be free of India, with hands and eyes unimpaired, though past my half-hundred. A Notebook contained the names of these Authors, grouped according to subjects, and another Notebook the names of their works, but the number is always increasing, and a new army is always ready to occupy the ground as the veterans disappear.

At this point I insert three Diagrams, illustrating the three Orbits of my Studies, my Duties, and my Travels. It would have been a fatal error to have had the first and not the second. A life spent without a daily discharge of relative duties to our fellow-creatures is a life of disobedience to the Divine Plan of Human Existence: it would have been Egoism not Altruism. I have sometimes come on a German Professor of this type, very learned, but totally unsympathetic with the sorrows of mankind: on the other hand, to lead a life of Duties without an allotment of time for Study, leaves no trace on the sands of time, when the labour is done. Duties by themselves leave a man very ignorant: Studies by themselves leave a man very unsociable. It is the union of both that gives a charm to life, and secures Physical, Intellectual, and Spiritual, Health: at least, I have found it so. I would never recommend a man to live entirely in the midst of 'Scholars,' or of so-called 'Religious' Committees, or of "men of the World." There is good in all three, and it is a delightful change to pass from the company of a deep, learned, and thoughtful, Student of Books into the saint-like company of Sensational Evangelicals, or kind-hearted mediæval Ritualists, and after pleasant hours of intercourse with them, drop into a Secular Committee, consisting of true-hearted benevolent Sinners, giving up their time, talents, and money, to the welfare of their sinning and suffering fellow-creatures.

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THE OLD MAN'S REVERIE.

I had thought at one time of giving my book the name of "Meditations," following the example of Marcus Aurelius (see p. 10), but I gave up the idea, and adopted the title of "Life-Memoir." Still, it seems not inappropriate, that the narrative of seventy years, 1828–1898, should close with a few "Reflections." A great Italian Poet wrote a Poem on the last days of Napoleon I. I quote one stanza, but not accurately:

"O! quante volte al tacito
Sparir d'un giorno inerte,
Stette, et del di, che furono,
L'assolve il sovvenir.
Egli ripensa le mobili
Tende, ed i percossi valli:
Il concitato Imperio,
Ed il celere obbedir!"

MANZONI: *Cinquemaggio.*

It is a far cry to Loch Awe, and a gulf of unlimited expanse spreads between that immortal Poem and this humble effort to record an obscure life; yet still there is a resemblance betwixt the thoughts of men, however different their position and circumstances.

To bring the matter more into the atmosphere of the present enterprise, I quote the following anonymous lines:

"Of what is the old man thinking,
As he sits in his lonely hour?
From reading books he is shrinking,
And his pen has lost its power.
Old thoughts in his memory play,
And the old man's eyes are dim,
Recalling some long-past day,
And some friends, that are lost to him."

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Perhaps, as the career draws to an end, beautiful thoughts are sometimes let down, as it were, from Heaven to illumine dark corners, remove doubts, disperse the fogs of Prejudice and Ignorance, and help the departing Intelligence to peep through a half-opened door into the next Century, with all the wonders, which it has to reveal.

I. As he is girding himself, and making ready for his last and longest journey, the old man thinks of his first, at least the first, which he can recollect, when in this very month of September, 1828, his father and mother conveyed him in a phaeton from the well-known house of his grandmother in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, to his first school at Turnham-Green. He can still recall that drive: how when Hyde Park Corner was passed, he found himself in a country-road, passing through the villages of Kensington, where there was a turnpike, and Hammersmith, till he came to his school, under the rough treatment in which he narrowly escaped an early death just seventy years ago.

II. The old man thinks of the "Orbit of his studies" as settled thirty years ago, and wishes, that he had to begin again. Some errors would have been avoided: he would have seen some things differently.

III. The old man thinks of the Orbit of his Travels, which were never impeded by illness, or accident, or misadventure. He recalls the variety of his equipage: elephants, camels, palanquins, dooleys, vehicles drawn by horses, or oxen, riverboats, steamers, coaches, and railways.

IV. The old man passes his hand down the shelves of his dear Library, or rather of all that remains of it. He has had occasion lately, in the course of preparing for the International Oriental Congress at Rome his Essay on "Language, its Birth, Life, and Death," to go over the collective wisdom of many honoured friends on that subject: some still alive, the majority dead. One feature strikes him that, as in Theology so in Linguistics, all seem to have been unduly confident, that *they were right, and all, who differed from them, wrong*: yet many aspects of the subject were possible; and dipping on such subjects into the abyss of the early Centuries of Mankind, we can only reason by Induction in

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such matters, and not base our opinion by Experiment, as in Geology, Chemistry, Botany, and other Physical Sciences.

V. The old man looks with feelings of deep and humble gratitude at the row of Books, which he has been permitted to write and publish in Poetry and Prose, in several Languages, since 1840, for a period of nearly sixty years. He feels it an enduring honour, that some of them should be on the shelves, and entered on the Catalogue, of some of the great Libraries of Europe, the United States, and India, or in the private collections of many friends in Africa and Oceania. The old man finds himself unconsciously repeating aloud, not without sobs, portions of the Poems, which he wrote in the days of his dejection and heavy affliction nearly forty years ago.

VI. The old man, with feelings of love, looks at his Notebooks, Commonplace-Books, Extract-Books, etc., which have been the faithful companions of his Life, an ever-present link between his manhood and old age, constantly handled and referred to, refreshing his memory, supplying him with germs of new thoughts, or the power to expand old ones. What could he have done, if they had perished in a sea-voyage, in an Indian Mutiny, or in a fire at home!

VII. The old man looks with some feelings of humble pride at his first efforts in Prose and Verse, in English, Greek, and Latin, at Eton College, in the days, when William IV was King, and at Haileybury College in the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria, his "Primitiæ and Reliquiæ," sometimes gay, sometimes sad, sometimes worldly, sometimes serious, such as a Translation of the 44th Chapter of Isaiah into Greek Sapphics. Some portion of the Divine Flame still survives.

VIII. The old man thinks with gratitude of the health of body and mind, and the disposition, and environment, which made him take in his youth to the study of Oriental and Occidental Languages, which were the joys of his life, while he was aware, that many of his own age loathed them, and were intellectually unable to cope with what to him was easy, and delightful: *Δῶρον Θέου*, "the Gift of God," and a happy initiation into congenial pursuits.

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IX. The old man thinks of old times, and recalls the features and words of kind friends, who encouraged him in his youth, and set him an example, which he was fortunate enough to follow. He thinks of the procession of good and noble men, who accompanied him through his career. Some never got into the fifties: they have long gone before, and are lost to him; some fell by the wayside in the sixties; and some linger on in close amity and friendship, though year by year their number is diminishing. He glances down the files of his correspondence in many Languages, and the folios of the letters from his parents, and brothers, and sisters, extending as far back as seventy years.

X. The old man, in the wakeful hours of the night, turns to the subject of the "Relation of the Soul to God," which men call 'Religion.' He himself has dwelt years amidst people speaking different Languages, practising different social Customs in this world, and holding different views as to the "Relation of the Soul to God," and some even doubting whether there is a God: and yet their ancestors were wise, honest, and good, highly cultured, at a period, when the inhabitants of the British Islands were naked and cruel savages. Their Sacred Books are as old as, if not older than, the Sacred Books of the Hebrews. They still live in their own hereditary country, and multiply into hundreds of millions, while the Hebrews were never more than a small tribe, and Centuries ago have been ousted from the petty Province, into which they intruded themselves by force. The old man thinks of all these things, and ponders over the wondrous dealing of the Creator with His poor creatures.

XI. The old man's thoughts glance off to his own dear people of the Panjáb in Northern India, whom he had loved so well and so long, having been cast alone among them when only 25 years of age, and governing them with a gentle rule. Can there be a greater triumph in this world than to win the hearts of a great and warlike race, and bind them to oneself by cords of love?

XII. The old man's thoughts go off in another direction, and he is grateful, that he has been permitted to oppose all evil Customs in his youth and old age. (1) Slave Trade and Slavery in every form. (2)

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Oppression of weaker races, such as the practices of the "low white" in South Africa. (3) Fanatical faddist Associations to interfere with the Customs and Rights of the people of India. (4) The Modern Policy of the British Nation, who boast of their own liberty, and systematically slaughter and plunder, and deprive other races of their liberty, with a view of extending British Commerce, and the sale of alcohol, and lethal weapons. The wrongs inflicted in the Nineteenth Century upon weaker races by the stronger disturb his peace, as Religion and Civilization are often called in as motives for the wicked Policy of Jingo and Grab, Slaughter and Plunder.

XIII. The old man thinks of all his Committees, Councils, Boards, Conferences, and by whatever name assemblies of honest, unselfish, men are called, who come together, not for the sake of salary or fees paid on each occasion, but for the purpose of serving their less-fortunate fellow-creatures, their motive being the love of their Saviour. These meetings may be Secular, Religious, or Scientific, but they are *not* for mercenary profit, although they result in sweet friendships, which could never have been formed elsewhere, in the promotion of the much needed Reform and Progress in administration, which it is impossible to expect from a body of men ignorant of business-affairs.

XIV. The old man bows his head in gratitude for the physical power bestowed upon him for many years of being able to speak on the Platform: his brain may have been stored with thoughts, and his pen quite able to convey them to paper, but the power of delivering them clearly on a platform, or in a pulpit, was a special gift, as unexpected as it was welcome. How it came about he knows not, but he never dreamed a few years back of making Political speeches in his own Family-Borough of Grantham, or supporting the Ilbert-Bill in the interests of the people of India in a crowded Hall, or proposing the health of the East India Company at a Haileybury College-Dinner, or, still more, making addresses at the Vienna and Leyden International Oriental Congresses, and the Geographical Congresses at Berne, Lyons, and Paris.

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XV. The old man thinks of his duties discharged for twenty years, joyfully and with profit to himself, as honorary Justice of the Peace for the Counties of London and Middlesex. Some of the duties recall those of his early manhood in India: the visiting of Prisons, Lunatic Asylums, Workhouses, and Hospitals, duties which require experience in affairs, independence of character, and readiness of speech.

XVI. The old man thinks with gratitude of his wonderful escape in the great battles on the River Satlaj more than fifty years ago, when so many of his friends were wounded, killed, and buried on the field, while he has been spared. He thinks of his solitary life in the Indian Jungle, of his long separation from his friends, and his domestic bereavements. He thinks in silence on the sorrow, humiliation, and disappointment, in his career in life, a discipline, with which the Lord had thought fit to chastise him for his own ultimate advantage. He feels, that all has been ordered in the best and wisest way, and, even if it were possible, he would not desire events to have happened otherwise. He thinks of the words of his wise and kind friend, a portion of which has already been quoted at page 107, of which he now quotes the concluding lines, as, though committed to the Press more than thirty years ago, they have all come true:

Pausing awhile, he said with solemn mien:
"Without this discipline what had you been?
"God welds His instruments, and yet is kind;
"To the shorn lamb He tempers still the wind.
"Beyond your strength no burden He will lay,
"Through Him your strength is always as your day:
"And do not think that dull domestic ease
"In beauteous England must surely please:
"Those, who a real contentment do not know,
"May change the scene, but will not change the woe.
"Fling not away in a desponding mood
"The priceless privilege of doing good:

Poems of Many Years and Many Places, Series II, p. 155: "A Life's Trial."

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"Strive you to do the labour of the day,
"While there is light, with the best power you may.
"*Do the thing next before you*; daily stand
"With your loins girt, lamp burning in your hand,
"Waiting your Master's summons, and till then
"Fighting His battles midst the ranks of men,
"For you can never say, how soon, how late,
"You may be summoned to your Master's gate."

Written 1864–65. Calcutta.

XVII. The old man's heart is gladdened, when he thinks of London-pulpits occupied, of assemblies in many parts of England listening to his words, of praise vouchsafed to his printed utterances, of the parchments on the walls of his study recording honorary membership of distant Societies, and recognition of services rendered, however imperfect those services were.

XVIII. The old man's heart seems to receive new life, when he thinks of the daily half-hour torn out of the excitement of conflicting duties and labour, and devoted to God in prayer, thanksgiving, or meditation, or reading of the Bible in one of the many Languages available to his knowledge.

XIX. The old man is thankful, that he has had the privilege of being acquainted intellectually with Homer, Socrates, Plato, and the great Athenian Dramatists, with Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius, with Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Confucius, and the Indian Sages, who have been permitted to leave to after generations Holy Thoughts entrusted to Words, which will never die, though in this generation unknown to the ignorant, unappreciated by the stupid ones, denounced by the so-called orthodox fanatic, but recognized as containing germs of Divine Truth by those, who humbly strive to pierce into the mysteries of the Relation of the Soul to God, and implicitly believe that: "Every good gift, every perfect gift, is from Above."

XX. The old man thinks with gratitude of the long years of uninterrupted health conceded to him since Queen Victoria came to the

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Throne in 1837. In the Easter-Holidays of that year he was brought to the borderland by a twenty-one days' fever, but has never been ill enough to abstain from his daily work since. He remembers the fall from his horse in a solitary jungle scores of miles from the nearest surgeon, but somehow or other he shook himself together, and mounted again, while many under similar circumstances were disabled: he remembers that his superior officer, Colonel Mackeson, and his subordinate, Captain Adams, had their lives cut short by the knife of the assassin, and that his immediate chief, Major Broadfoot, was killed in the battle of Ferozshahr; while, somehow or other, he always escaped from the pestilence of the Cholera, which at Lahór in 1861 carried off hundreds of soldiers, and from the fever, under which many dear friends succumbed. What can he render unto the Lord for all that He has done for him? What but absolute devotion to His service, and the service of his fellow-creatures.

XXI. The old man's thoughts go back to a particular day, when a pious friend explained to him for the first time the way of Salvation, cleared away the fogs of Human invention called Churches, and revealed to him the work of Christ to each individual Soul, and the necessity of immediate acceptance of the golden thread of

"Repentance—Faith—Pardon—Peace—Holiness."

XXII. How can the old man express fully his gratitude for the thoughts that rise, and never cease to rise, in his solitary musings, when he stands aside for a season from the unceasing whirl of daily labour! the sweet reveries, the beautiful day-dreams, growing on in endless expansion, and mellowed by time, when the exasperating environment of outer Life ceases to be felt, and a holy exalted Life seems even in this world to be realized.

"Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit."

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TO MY UNCLE ON HIS EIGHTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY.

IF thy long life, completing eighty years,
Has been a calendar of woes and tears:
If many a loved companion of thy way
Has gone before thee to the realms of day:
If still the unavailing teardrops start,
A vain relief for thy poor aching heart,
That loving heart which never fails to show
Deep sympathy in all our joy and woe;
Oh! may thy sorrowing spirit comfort find
In the affection of those left behind,
The many friends who for thy welfare pray,
And gather round thee on thy Natal day.

Cardington, Bedfordshire, August 13, 1871.

TRANSLATION OF TENNYSONS "CROSSING THE BAR."

SOLIS occasus, tenuisque Vesper:
Me vocat vox clara repente: turbet
Ultimam ne fletus inutilis lu-
-gubriter horam!

Murmure et spumâ sine, nunc aquarum
Ambiens circum vaga plenitudo
Me sub immensum maris æstuantis
Portat abyssum!

Hesperi tintinnat inanis Echo:
Nox subit posthàc tenebrosa: nulla
Me tamen caros abeunte vultus
Lacryma foedet!

Terminos ultra spatii, et dierum,
Devehor: spes restat, ut ipse coram
Stet gubernator meus exeuntis
Puppis in arce!

London, December, 1890.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 200.
"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," p. 231.

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VALE!

Io ripenso sovente
Le améne piagge, O Nice,
Dové vivéa felice,
Quando vivéa con Te.
METASTASIO.

LISTEN, my Heavenly Muse: to Thee I bring
My latest offering from Thy sacred spring:
In age's lateness cast me not away,
Thou, who hast lived with me for many a day;
For more than sixty years, who on the throne
Of my poor heart hast sate, and sits alone.
Whether in Indian solitary rides
Far from my kinsfolk, and all friends besides;
In midnight-musing by the moonlit sea,
When thoughts fly off from earth to Heaven and Thee;
Whether midst strife of men, on bed of pain,
Thou hast to me been my unequalled gain.
For I have lived two lives, and do not know
Which was the real and which the outward show:
One striving to work out Heaven's wise decree
In this short life, and one alone with Thee.
To Thee alone my secrets have I told:
My aspirations I to Thee unfold:
Blessing my board, my desk, Thy presence seems
To shed a glory o'er my peaceful dreams.

As to Odysseus in his wanderings wide
Athéné deigned to be his constant guide,
So in my wanderings, and all journeys past,
Thou wert my ancient friend from first to last:
Whether my thoughts go back to classic lore,
Or to my weary tasks on India's shore;
Whether I gather gold in Orient mine,
Or chant aloud some Persian ode divine,
Or cull romantically in idle hour
Of every clime and every time the flower,
Ope treasures of the past with daring hand,
Or raise the veil of future Fairy-Land.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 268.

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With Thee I've listened, while the Brahmins pray,
Or holy Buddha shows his "Noble Way";
Or where the proud Mahometans in line
Offer their daily prayers to Power Divine.
With Thee through History's Chart a line I've drawn
Up to the dawning of Creation's morn;
And Thou the centre of each joy hast been,
Charm of each place, and Genius of each scene,
Wakening the memory, opening wide the door
Of thoughts heaped up in Eton's sacred store,
When first I wooed Thee, and first found Thee kind,
Thoughtless of cares and woes, that shake mankind.
Thy sympathetic whisper in my dream
Recalls fresh garlands plucked by Ganges' stream.
In stately form Thou hast stood by my chair
In my sweet Indian garden's cool parterre;
Of city crowds amidst the ceaseless din
Thy still small voice has cheered my heart within.
Oh! let the ignorant crowd in hope divine,
Light holy lamps before their favourite shrine;
But let me be Thy faithful devotee,
My loving heart burn like a lamp to Thee.

Now at the age of three-score ten and five
Alone with Thee to live I hope, and strive:
Thee, whom I loved in boyhood's happy hours,
To Thee devoting my unfolding powers;
Thee, whom I loved in manhood's full career,
Passing the love of wife, or children dear:
Words taught by Thee with heavenly hope still glow;
Thou whispered comfort in the hour of woe:
While other powers decay, Thou dost not wane:
Alone with Thee I feel quite young again.
When earthly honours like a shadow passed,
I clasped Thee to my breast, my own at last.
And as I older grew, my own dear Muse
Taught me new hopes, and new' desires, to choose;
As by our works alone we shall be known,
We must not live to please ourselves alone;

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For life's short span is lent for toil, and then
Love to our God, Love to our Fellow-men.
When hundreds fell around on battlefield,
Thou o'er my head didst spread Thy gracious shield;
And when in Peace the fell assassin's blow
My Chief, and my Subordinate, struck low,
I stood unharmed: and so it seems to me,
Serving my fellow-creatures I serve Thee.

The gusts of appetite, the clouds of care,
No longer now my thoughts with Thee shall share:
I feel Thee standing by me, Fairest Flower,
Blooming in sweetest Youth's eternal power:
I feel Thee guide my pen, while I rehearse
To Thee my efforts, now in prose, now verse.
Though fickle Fortune never smiled on me,
What would my life have been, if 'reft of Thee?
I know no change: Thou hast o'er me a spell;
I cannot, dearest Muse, bid Thee Farewell.

Scarce had I written this: the echoes bring
The last vibration of a broken string;
While in myself I feel a fibre part,
As if the wrench asunder of a heart.
With Thee in youth my earthly path I've trod;
With Thee in age my Soul mounts up to God,
Seeking my Saviour; feeling in my heart
That Thou, my Muse, the Holy Spirit art.
Illuminate my vision; I can see
In every age no other power but Thee:
In every clime through Thee good men adored
Brahma, or Baal, Jehovah, Jove, or Lord:
Inspired by Thee the Magi saw afar
In the East rising the Bethlehem-Star:
Ages and generations still proclaim
The same great Father with a different name.
Thou o'er Creation's waters once did move,
Emblem of Order, Providence, and Love:
Thou satest on men's heads in fiery tongue,
When the new Gospel into life outsprung:

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My eyes now open, and I know full well
In hearts of man the Spirit deigns to dwell.
Poor Human Reason many roads may see,
Which lead to Heaven, but all verge in Thee.
When I look back on all my devious ways,
No thoughts I find but those of Thanks and Praise.

London, February 24, 1896. (*Aet.* 75.)

LINES TO A YOUNG LADY WHO DID ME THE HONOUR OF BEING BORN ON MY FIFTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY.

(*In a letter to me she remarked: "I wonder, if I shall have to wait such a weary time as fifty years before 'Earth breaks up, and Heaven expands.'"*)

LADY, recall those words; you do not know
The blessings, which your onward path attend:
Learn in humility your head to bow,
And take with gratitude what God may send.

"Not to be born" seems the best lot to me:
"If born," as soon as may be, let me die:
But if I live, Christ, let me live to Thee,
And to do something for my neighbour try.

Learn that to love the Lord with heart and soul
Is better far than Honour, Power, or Pelf:
And what is that, which makes man's Duty whole,
Except to love one's neighbour as one's self?

Some blossom early, and His tender care,
Ere sin can blight, bestows the sweetest doom,
To be transplanted to a purer air,
There in youth's glory evermore to bloom.

Some hope to strive amidst the brave and strong,
To fill some worthy space in God's great plan,
To fight His battle in the busy throng,
And do, and suffer, all that Christians can.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 272.

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Perhaps to the wilderness God them allures,
Casts all their schemes of pleasing service down ;
To pain and solitude their soul inures,
Or deigns to weave for them a Martyr's crown.

The holy, useful, blessed, peaceful, years,
To some work sweetly out their soothing powers :
Gently years flow along midst smiles and tears,
While each leaves something to recall past hours.

Oh ! ye, who stand in trembling doubts and fears
On the sad lower side of seventy-five,
Think how we pity youthful sighs and tears,
While we count up our joys, and cease to strive.

Entranced by fickle Hope, Youth peeps behind
Of the dim Future the half-opened door,
In thought appropriating what it can find
Of Sweet, or Good, or Beautiful, in store.

Taught by experience Manhood knows too well
The sad, the tear-stained, course of Human Life ;
Of Pain, and Death, the oft-repeated knell ;
Affections crossed, Love crushed, and ceaseless strife.

The gusts of appetite, the clouds of care,
The crave for things, which never satisfy :
The fond desires, which youthful bosoms tear,
Are, like our worn-out garments, long put by.

To count by years and days He does not deign :
One thousand years are nothing in His sight.
The Proclamation of Victoria's reign
Seems to us just as something done last night.

The world seems to recede and disappear ;
Freedom from Human cares the spirit feels :
O'er hearts, in which of Death there is no fear,
The Peace, which passes understanding, steals.

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At dawn we cry: "Thy Holy Name be blest;
Oh! sanctify our unexhausted powers!"
And, when we sink in, maybe, our last rest,
"Thank Thee for holy, happy, golden, hours."

When the day brightens, we are pondering how
Our Human debt of love we best can pay:
At sunset there is light: our heads we bow,
And sigh to think that we have lost a day.

Before our downcast eyes in calm serene,
Deigning through life our hope and stay to be,
Stands One Great Holy Figure, dimly seen:
"Welcome," He cries, "you long have worked with me."

Talk not of Buddha, and his "Noble Way,"
Nor seek Nirvána, which no cares can mar:
Nobler in Christ to suffer, work, and pray;
And oh! to die in Christ is better far.

And so when gazing on the fire by night,
On what has been, or might have been, you muse,
Fold up your dreams of fancy and delight,
And take with gratitude what He may choose.

London, November, 1896. (*Aet.* 75.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE CHRISTIAN NIRVÁNA.

OH! set me free from Human care,
From Human pleasure too:
Let me be kind and humble,
Gentle, and meek, and true.

Cherish no secret low desire,
No hatred, and no fear:
Take all events, as they transpire,
As Thy great purpose here.

Love all things in this beauteous world
Find not in them delight:
Be free from lust, and anger,
From envy, greed, and spite.

Let me very penitent,
And thankful for the Past,
Contented with the Present,
On Thee the Future cast.

Ready to stay, or to depart,
According to Thy Will;
Take, Thou, my undivided heart,
And work Thy purpose still.

Forgiving every wrong,
By chance, or evil mind:
In serving others daily
My greatest pleasure find.

That all the world are fools
Except one's self is true,
So suffer others gladly,
And they will suffer you.

Each day do some one service,
Each day for some one pray:
If here by chance you fail,
Feel that you've lost a day.

Life is a hopeless puzzle,
Where joys and sorrows blend;
But each day brings us nearer,
To our life's journey's end.

We know not where we go,
For no one e'er came back;
But this is best, we know,
To be on Jesu's track.

So for your fellow-creatures
To do some kindness try:
If life has no real purpose,
'T is better far to die.

If others rise to fame,
And you have honour none,
What matters in a name,
If good work has been done!

So never sell your talents;
Work not for grovelling pelf:
For work seek not reward;
The work rewards itself.

Your gifts were given freely;
Freely give back your store:
Bear all rebuking meekly;
If undeserved, still more.

"Poems of Many Years and Many Places," Series II, p. 276.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

For why was your life spared,
And others called away?
Because the Great Controller
Thought good, that you should stay.

A corner in His Vineyard
Was kept for you to till:
A post of Human kindness
Ordained for you to fill.

All have their work to do,
But, when that work is done,
Rejoicing homeward go!
The hour God knows alone.

Let me while Life remaineth,
Work on with all my power,
Just as a daily labourer
Toils till the Sunset hour!

When the Evening Light is shining,
Let me draw my last breath,
And cry without repining,
"My soul, can this be Death?"

London, February 24, 1897. (*Aet.* 76.)

VALE! AETERNUM VALE!

"Sul estrema pagina
Cadde la stanca man."

HE FELL ASLEEP HERE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

LIST OF APPENDICES.

I. Chronological List of Writings.

II. List of my Contributions to the *Calcutta Review*, 1846–1899. Fifty papers.

III. List of my Contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1879–1899. Fifty papers.

IV. List of Periodicals to which I have contributed papers.

V. List of Appointments, which I held in India.

VI. List of Committees, Boards, and Councils, of which I have been a Member in England.

VII. List of Languages, of which I have Working Knowledge.

VIII. List of Honorary Appointments, which I hold, or have held.

IX. List of Foreign Tours in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

X. List of Scientific Congresses, of which I have been a Member.

XI. List of Communications made by me to Congresses.

XII. List of Institutions, at which I have given Lectures or Addresses on different occasions.

XIII. Translations of my Works in Foreign Languages.

XIV. British and Foreign Towns, where I have given Public Addresses, and number of addresses given each year, 1877–1899.

XV. Sermons preached in the Diocese of London.

XVI. London Clubs, to which I have belonged.

XVII. Scientific Societies, to which I have belonged.

XVIII. Religious, Missionary, and Benevolent, Societies to which I have belonged.

XIX. Poems written: Printed and Manuscript.

XX. Medals and other Tokens of Honour.

XXI. Men of Note, whom I have met and conversed with.

XXII. Public Events and Remarkable Sights.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SIC SEDEBAT

1896.

CHRONOLOGICAL

LIST OF WRITINGS

(PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT):

THE SCRIPTORIUM OF AN ETON BOY, AN ANGLO-INDIAN OFFICIAL;
A READER OF BOOKS, A STUDENT OF LANGUAGES, A TRAVELLER IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES;
A RULER OF SUBJECT NATIONS, A SYMPATHIZER WITH THE WRONGS OF ALL WEAKER RACES;
A CHRISTIAN FREE-THINKER ON ALL SUBJECTS;
AN AVOWED OPPONENT OF FADS, CRAZES, AND HUMBUGS, AN OUTSPOKEN ENEMY OF ALL ABUSES, JOBS, HYPOCRITICAL PHRASES, AND PRACTICES;
ONE, WHO IS NOT AFRAID TO "CALL A SPADE A SPADE," DENOUNCE A CRIME, AND EXPOSE A FALSEHOOD; AND WHO HAS BEEN ALL HIS LIFE DEVOTED TO THE ONE GREAT SUBJECT OF THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD.

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

FROM 1834 to 1899.

"Ilius incessanter erat cum Tempore pugna:
De primâ in mediam, nocturnam denique in horam,
Pugna æterna fuit, magnorum uti pugna virorum."

R. N. C.

* * * *

"Εἰ καλῶς, ὡς ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεέστερως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην."

Aeschines versus Ctesiphontem (the last sentence).

* * * *

"Sul estrema pagina
Cadde la stanca man."

HE DID WHAT HE COULD: THEN, WIPING HIS PEN DRY, HE FELL ASLEEP THERE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Acad.	means	*Academy.*
Asiat. Q.	,,	*Asiatic Quarterly.*
Athen.	,,	*Athenæum.*
B.F.B.S.	,,	British and Foreign Bible Society.
C.M.S.	,,	Church Missionary Society.
Coll.	,,	College.
Copy	,,	Copy in possession.
D.	,,	Dictionary.
Fol.	,,	Folio.
For.	,,	Foreign.
G.	,,	Grammar.
Geog.	,,	Geographical.
Guar.	,,	*Guardian.*
Int.	,,	*Intelligencer.*
J.R.A.S.	,,	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.*
J.R.G.S.	,,	*Journal of Royal Geographical Society.*
L.	,,	Language.
L. East Indies ...	,,	"Modern Languages of East Indies."
Lect.	,,	Lecture.
L.O. Essays ...	,,	"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," I, II, III, IV, V.
Mag.	,,	Magazine.
Mem.	,,	Memorandum.
MSS.	,,	Manuscripts.
N.	,,	Note.
N. Miss. Sub. ...	,,	"Notes on Missionary Subjects."
N.W.P.	,,	North-West Provinces of India.
Obit. N.	,,	Obituary Notice.
Phil.	,,	Philology. Philogical.
P.I. Life	,,	"Pictures of Indian Life."
P.M.G.	,,	*Pall Mall Gazette.*
Poems M.Y. ...	,,	"Poems of Many Years and Many Places."
Pref.	,,	Preface.
Proc.	,,	Proceedings.
R.	,,	*Rock.*
Rec.	,,	*Record.*
Rep.	,,	Report.
Rev.	,,	Review.
R. R. of R. ...	,,	*Religious Review of Reviews.*
S.	,,	South.
S.P.C.K.	,,	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
S.P.G.	,,	Society for Propagation of the G[illegible]
Trans.	,,	Translation.
Vers.	,,	Version.
Voc.	,,	Vocabulary.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX I.

Chronological List of Writings.

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LIST OF SEPARATE VOLUMES.

	Date
Life-Memoir	1899
Gospel Message	1896
Notes on Missionary Subjects	1889
Linguistic and Oriental Essays. I	1880
„ „ II	1887
„ „ III	1891
„ „ IV	1895
„ „ V	1897
„ „ VI	1900
Bible-Diffusion	1892
Bible-Translations	1890
Bible-Languages	1890
Missionary Methods	1894
Common Features, which appear in all Religions	1895
Africa Rediviva, or Occupation of Africa by Missionaries	1891
Clouds on the Horizon, or the Various Forms of new Religious Conceptions	1890
Pictures of Indian Life	1881
Five Essays on Religious Conceptions	1898
Poems of Many Years and Many Places	1887
Ditto. Second Series	1897

	Date
The Shrines, or Places of Pilgrimage of the Church of Rome	1892
Summer Holidays of an Eton Boy	1887
Languages of East Indies	1878
Languages of Africa. 2 vols.	1883
Sorrows of an Anglo-Indian Life. (Poems.)	1889
Pamphlet on Indian Official Subjects. (Urdu.)	1854–61
Primitiae et Reliquiae. (Latin, Greek, English.)	1886
Races, Religions, and Religions of India. (Translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Greek.)	1886
Languages of Africa. (Translated into French and Italian.)	1885
Eton Addresses	1840
Languages of Oceania. (Translated into French.)	1887
Travels of Amín Chand. Edited with Preface. (Urdu.)	1854
Volume of Manuscript Poems	1878
Cockayne-Hatley Church. With Plates	1851
Code of Land Revenue for N. India	1870
Manual of Revenue for the Panjáb	1865

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	Date
Official Catechism and Tracts. (English and Urdu.) . .	1853–4
Handbook for Guidance of Civil Officers and Local Committees. (English and Urdu.) . . .	1863
Selected Circulars of Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb : Criminal Department. Preface . . .	1863
Selected Circulars of Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb : Civil Department	1863
Kulid Ganj. Manual to examine Public Officials. (Urdu.) Preface	1863

FOLIO VOLUMES.

	Date
1. Indian Reports and Minutes. (5 in number.)	1855
2. Indian Reports and Minutes. (44 in number.)	1865
3. Annual Reports, Civil and Criminal, 1861, 1862, 1863 . . .	1863
4. Annual Report, Revenue, 1859–60	1860

QUARTO VOLUMES (Manuscript).

1. Reliquiae Latinae. Eton College .	1834
2. Classics. Eton Coll. . . .	1834
3. Primitiae. Eton Coll. . .	1835
4. Secular Subjects. Prose. Eton Coll.	1835
5. Religious Subjects. Prose. Eton Coll.	1836
6. English Prose and Poetry of Youth, Manhood, and Old Age .	1837–96

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX I.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WRITINGS.

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
		I. ENGLAND, 1834–1842.	
1	1834	Reliquiae Latinae. Eton Coll. Volume . .	MS.
2		Classics. Eton Coll. Volume	MS.
3	1835	Primitiae. Eton Coll. Volume	MS.
4		Secular Subjects. Prose. Eton Coll. Volume .	MS.
5	1836	Religious Subjects. Prose. Eton Coll. Volume.	MS.
6	1837 to 1896	English Prose and Poetry of Youth, Manhood, and Old Age. Volume	MS.
7	1840	Eton Addresses. Edited. With Preface. Eton. Volume	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
42	1841 / 1842	Haileybury-Observer Contributions, Prose and Verse: thirty-five in number, as per Table of Contents. Stephen Austin, Hertford. Volume.	Copy.
		II. India before Furlough, 1842–1855.	
43	1845	Letter presenting Scholarships to Calcutta Students	MS.
44	1846	The Country betwixt the Satlaj and Jamna. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, I, 1.
45	1847	A Newly Conquered District in the Panjáb. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, II, 86.
46	1848	Warning during a Rebellion in my District . .	L.O. Essays, III, 626.
47	1851	Description of Cockayne-Hatley Church, Bedfordshire. With plates. Fol. Volume . .	L.O. Essays, V, 724.
48		Christian Missions in N.W.P.	MS.
49	1852	A Tour in Palestine and Lebanon. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, I, 252.
50		Present State of Turkey. *Calcutta Rev.* . .	L.O. Essays, II, 244.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
51	1853	The Native Place of Christian Worship in India. *Banáras Mag.*	Gospel Message, 324.
52		Death in India. *Banáras Mag.* . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 205.
53		The Ramáyana. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, I, 56.
54		The Indian National Festival. *Dehli Mag.* .	Gospel Message, 404.
55		The Box of Indian Letters. *Dehli Mag.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 205.
56		Protest against Public Execution of Criminals .	L.O. Essays, III, 314.
57		Education: Bombay, Madras, N.W.P. *Dehli Mag.*	Copy.
58		Questions for the Officials of the Collector of Land Revenue. (English and Urdu.). .	L.O. Essays, V, 1013.
59		Questions for the Officials of Settlement Offices. (English and Urdu.)	Copy in both L.
60		Letter to Accountant-General, N.W.P., about Deposits	Copy.
61	1854	Collector of Land Revenue. *Calcutta Rev.* .	L.O. Essays, I, 172.
62		Miriam, the Indian Girl. *Dehli Mag.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 251.
63		The Native Non-Christian Village. *Dehli Mag.*	Gospel Message, 397.
64		Law of Distraint. (Urdu.)	Copy.
65		Manual of Village Accountant. (Urdu.) . .	Copy.
66		Travels of Amín Chand. Edited. (Urdu.) Volume	Copy.
67		Travels of Amín Chand. English Pref. . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 231.
68		Manual of Collector's Office. (Urdu.) Volume .	Copy.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
69	1854	Manual of Collector's Record-Room. (Urdu.) Volume	Copy.
70		Life of Rama, the Indian Hero. (English and Urdu.)	L.O. Essays, VI, 144.
71		The First Invader of India. (English and Urdu.)	L.O. Essays, V, 287.
72		Report to Government, N.W.P., on Instruction of Native Officials, Civil, Criminal, Revenue .	Copy.
73		Questions on subject contained in Indian Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure. (Urdu.)	Copy.
74		Questions on subject contained in Indian Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure. (English.)	Copy.
75		Revenue-Catechism. (Urdu.)	Copy.
76		Manual on Arrangement of Revenue-Records. (Urdu.)	Copy.
77		Tehsildar's Manual. (Urdu.)	Copy.
78		Patwari's Manual. (Urdu.)	Copy.
79		Patwari's Manual. (Hindi.)	Copy.
80		Manual of Summary Suits. (Urdu.) . . .	Copy.
81		Manual of Collector's Office. Three parts. (Urdu.)	Copy.
82		Questions on Civil Code. (Urdu.) . . .	Copy.
83		Catechism on Civil Code, Panjáb. (Urdu.) .	Copy.
84		Khawaid Ikhtisar Dafatir. (Urdu.) . . .	Copy.
85		Warning to Executors. *Dehli Gazette* . . .	Copy.
86	1855	Mesopotamia. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, I, 289.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
91	1855	Indian Reports and Minutes. Vol. I. Fol. Volume. (Five in number.) . . .	Copy.
92		Manual of Magistrate's Office. (Urdu.) Volume.	Copy.
93		The Great Missionary. (English and Urdu.) .	L.O. Essays, VI, 134.
94		The Indian Gallows-Tree	L.O. Essays, V, 258.
95		Direct Management of Estates. (English and Urdu.)	Copy.
		III. ENGLAND AND INDIA FROM DATE OF TAKING FURLOUGH.	
96	1856	Parting for India	L.O. Essays, V, 230.
97		Resolutions and Maxims for Guidance of Public Officers in India	L.O. Essays, III, 587.
98	1857	On Positive Religion	L.O. Essays, III, 440.
99		Inscription in a copy of the Veda presented to the Eton College Library	L.O. Essays, III, 226.
100	1858	A District during a Rebellion. *Calcutta Rev.* .	L.O. Essays, I, 224.
101		The Indian Rája	L.O. Essays, V, 262.
102		Letter to Government of the Panjáb on Emendations of the Law	L.O. Essays, III, 331.
103		Instructions for Officials in Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Offices. (Urdu and English.) .	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
104	1859	Sikhland, or the Country of Baba Nának. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, I, 14.
105		Dirge of the East India Company. *Dehli Sketch Book*	L.O. Essays, III, 322.
106		Life of Baba Nának, the Indian Reformer. (English and Urdu.)	L.O. Essays, V, 511.
107		"Detur Digniori," or Patronage in India. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, II, 164.
108		Civil Justice in the Panjáb. *Calcutta Rev.* .	L.O. Essays, I, 198.
109		French Courts of Justice as applied to India. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, V, 378.
110		Farewell to my Indian District	L.O. Essays, V, 234.
111		On the subject of Attendance of British Officials at the Baptism of Native Converts to Christianity	L.O. Essays, III, 486.
112		The Two Indian Ships	L.O. Essays, V, 225.
113		The Indian District	L.O. Essays, V, 241.
114	1860	Danger of Denominational Churches in India. *Lahór Chronicle*	L.O. Essays, IV, 566.
115		The Idol and the Railway, India. *Lahór Chronicle*	L.O. Essays, III, 302.
116		Indian Annual Report Revenue, 1859–60. Volume.	Copy.
117		The Family in India	L.O. Essays, V, 199.
118		The Indian Women	L.O. Essays, V, 280.
119		"Ad Montem," India. Calcutta. *Indian Empire.*	L.O. Essays, III, 299.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
120	1861	On the Mode of Winning Sympathy from Native Christians. Lahór Missionary Conference. *Lahór Chronicle*	Report of Conference.
121	1862	Indian Annual Reports (Civil and Criminal), 1861, 1862, 1863	Copy.
122		On the subject of Baptizing Polygamists. Lahór Missionary Conference	L.O. Essays, IV, 138.
123		Volume of Letters to my Father, 1843–1861 .	MS.
124		Rules with regard to Christian Burial Grounds in India. Official Circular	Copy.
125		Indus-Route to Bombay. *Lahór Chronicle* . .	Copy.
126		Death of Bhaii Makhan Singh. *Lahór Chronicle* .	L.O. Essays, V, 410.
127		Polygamy in Christian Church. *Lahór Chronicle* .	Copy.
128		On Telegraph Agency Offices. *Lahór Chronicle* .	Copy.
129		On Commercial Transport Association. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
130	1863	Prize offered for a Poem on the Opening of the Lahór Exhibition. *Lahór Chronicle* . .	Copy.
131		Criticisms of Sermon on Death of Lord Elgin preached at Lahór. *Lahór Chronicle* . .	Copy.
132		On the Death of Lord Elgin. *Lahór Chronicle* .	Copy.
133		On the Death of Lord Elgin. A Calcutta paper .	Copy.
134		On Alienations of Land-Revenue. *Lahór Chronicle.*	Copy.
135		On Unpaid Magistrates. *Lahór Chronicle* . .	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
136	1863	On Family-Prayers with Native Non-Christian Servants. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
137		Reliques of Mahomet in the Lahór Fortress. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
138		On the Intercourse between a Judicial Officer and the Litigant. *Lahór Chronicle* . . .	Copy.
139		"Sir Herbert's Shield." A Poem. Wedding Present of the Panjáb to the Prince of Wales. *Lahór Chronicle*	Poems of Many Years and Many Places, 1st series, 145.
140		On Presents of Fruits, etc., made to Public Officers. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
141		On the Testimonial to Lord Lawrence. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
142		On the Reduction of Allowances of Soldier-Civilians. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
143		On Divorce. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
144		On the Trial of European British Subjects. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
145		On the Appointment of Assistant Commissioners. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
146		On the Promotion of Mr. Bowring and Mr. Temple. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
147		On the Unnecessary Closing of the Lahór Treasury. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
148		On the Careers of the Officers of the Panjáb under Lord Lawrence. *Lahór Chronicle*. . .	Copy.
149		On the Equalizing of Salaries of all Servants of the State. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
150		On the Laws prevailing in the Panjáb. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
151	1863	On the Death of Rani Jinde Kour, the Mother of Dulíp Singh. *Lahór Chronicle* . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 414.
152		On the High Court. *Lahór Chronicle* . . .	Copy.
153		On a Farewell to Dr. Charles Smith, of Lahór. *Lahór Chronicle*	L.O. Essays, V, 409.
154		On the Loss of Packages in transit from Bombay to Lahór. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
155		On the Sanitorium of Dalhousie in the Panjáb. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
156		On the Death of Raja Tej Singh at Lahór. *Lahór Chronicle*	L.O. Essays, V, 411.
157		On the Opening of the Railway from Amritsar to Lahór. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
158		On the Return of Sir Herbert Edwardes to the Panjáb. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
159		On the Bursting of two of Lord Canning's Bubbles. *Lahór Chronicle*	Copy.
160		On the Hardship to the Soldier-Civilian in the matter of Furlough. *Lahór Chronicle* . .	Copy.
161		On the Punishment of Women for certain Offences. Letter to the Government of the Panjáb .	L.O. Essays, III, 310.
162		Local Funds in the Panjáb. *Lahór Chronicle* .	Copy.
163		Arrest of two European British Subjects for serious Offences in the Panjáb. *Lahór Chronicle* .	Copy.
164		Reprint of Judicial Circulars for the Panjáb. (Urdu.) Volume	Copy.
165		Handbook for Civil Officers and Local Committees. Panjáb. (Urdu.) Volume . .	Copy.
166		Sentence of Death on the Murderer of the First Victims of the Mutiny, 1857	L.O. Essays, III, 316.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
167	1863	Speech in Missionary Conference of Panjáb on the Marriage of Converts	L.O. Essays, III, 341.
168		On the subject of Violent Crime on the Afghan Frontier	L.O. Essays, III, 317.
169		Manual of Land Revenue for the Panjáb. Volume.	Copy.
213		Dispatches, Reports, etc. (Forty-four in number.) Fol. Volume I	Copy.
214	1864	Drafts of Bills in the Legislative Council of India. Volume	Copy.
215		Speech in Legislative Council on the Marriage of Converts	L.O. Essays, III, 339.
216		Report on Salaries of Officials in the Panjáb. Volume	Copy.
217		Home Rule, or Unpaid Native Agency. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, II, 151.
218	1865	Letter to Government of Panjáb on Existing Laws.	Copy.
219	1866	Reports and Dispatches bound up with Vol. II (1863)	Copy.
220		Summary of Suits Bill in Panjáb. Letter to Government of India	Copy.
221		Introductory Remarks to Manual for Revenue Officers	L.O. Essays, IV, 222.
222		War in Europe. *Pioneer*, Allahabad . . .	Copy.
223		Draining Allahabad. *Pioneer*, Allahabad . .	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
224	1866	Indian Table of Precedence. *Pioneer*, Allahabad.	Copy.
225		Observance of Sunday. *Pioneer*, Allahabad. .	Copy.
227		Extension of Civil Procedure Code to the Panjáb. *Pioneer*, Allahabad. Two Notices . .	Copy.
228		Sir J. P. Grant appointed Governor of Jamaica. *Pioneer*, Allahabad	Copy.
229		Failure of the Agra Bank. *Pioneer*, Allahabad .	Copy.
230		Eyre-Defence-Committee. *Pioneer*, Allahabad .	Copy.
231		Reform in the Panjáb - Judicature. *Pioneer*, Allahabad	Copy.
232		"Oráre et Laboráre." *Southern Cross*, Allahabad.	Copy.
233		Lay Agency. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad . .	Copy.
234		Systematic Charity. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad .	L.O. Essays, III, 592.
235		On Giving Notice of Hour of Divine Service on Church Door. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad	Copy.
236		Survival of office of Parish - Clerk at Meerut. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad	Copy.
237		On the Insertion of Notice of Domestic Events in Religious Papers. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad	Copy.
238		On the Mode of Supplying a Salary for Additional Bishops. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad . .	Copy.
239		On the Salaries of Bishops. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad	Copy.
240		On Vested Rights claimed by Chaplains to their Stations. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad . .	Copy.
241		Byways of our Station: VII. Hindu Worship. *Southern Cross*, Allahabad	L.O. Essays, III, 304.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
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249		Undue Deference to Idol-Worship . . .	L.O. Essays, III, 321.
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466		The Caucasus-Provinces. *Calcutta Rev.* . .	L.O. Essays, II, 235.
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480		The Opium-Trade. *Calcutta Rev.* . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 143.
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524		Crime in W. Africa. Letter to Sec. of State For. Office	L.O. Essays, III, 586.
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563		International Oriental Congress, Vienna. *Calcutta Rev.*	L.O. Essays, II, 438.

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1050		No Copyright, legal or moral, in Bible-Trans. Letter to Bishop of Rangún . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 517.
1051		L. of Hindi. D. Kellogg. *P.M.G.* . . .	Copy.
1052		Judaism and Sacerdotalism. Letter to *Rec.* .	Copy.
1053		Obit. N. of Ernest Renan. *J.R.A.S.* . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 71.
1056		Objection to the use in N.T. Trans. of Baptist Terms. Three letters to *Rec.* . . .	Copy.
1057		On the Marriage of Bishops. Letter to *R.* .	Copy.
1058		On Difficulties of Bible-Trans. Letter to *Rec.* .	L.O. Essays, IV, 519.
1059		A Foreign Mission Library. Letter to *Rec.* .	Copy.
1061		Protest against Casual Wards. Two letters to Poor Law Guardians of Chelsea . . .	Copy.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1062	1893	Darkest Russia. *Stamford Post*	L.O. Essays, IV, 609.
1063		Opium-Traffic. *Stamford Post*	L.O. Essays, IV, 324.
1064		Honest Poverty. *Stamford Post*	L.O. Essays, V, 733.
1065		Liquor-Traffic. *Stamford Post*	Copy.
1066		The Prison. *Stamford Post*	L.O. Essays, IV, 615.
1067		L. of Monkeys. *Stamford Post*	L.O. Essays, IV, 62.
1068		Queensland. *Stamford Post*	Copy.
1069		Garden-Tomb, Jerusalem. *Stamford Post* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 199.
1070		Infant Marriage in India. *Stamford Post* . .	Copy.
1071		Slave-Trade. *Stamford Post*	Copy.
1072		Parochial Rates, London. *Stamford Post* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 731.
1073		Rome and the Bible. *Rec.*	L.O. Essays, V, 137.
1074		Societies for producing Christian Literature. *R.R. of R.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 521.
1075		The Workhouse. *P.M.G.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 613.
1076		Normal Addresses on Bible-Diffusion. Volume .	Copy.
1077		"A Peaceful Ruler." Life of James Thomason, by Sir R. Temple. Rev. *P.M.G.* . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 129.
1078		Character of James Thomason. Page 191 of the above Life	Copy.
1079		Indian Career of Sir G. Campbell. Rev. *P.M.G.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 127.
1080		Progress of African Phil. Chicago Congress. Pamphlet	L.O. Essays, IV, 28.
1081		Progress of African Phil. Chicago Congress. Rev. *R.*	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1082	1893	Census of British India, 1891. *Indian Women.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 166.
1083		Census of British India, 1891 (Political Aspect). *P.M.G.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 163.
1084		Census of British India, 1891 (Religious). *R.R. of R.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 171.
1085		Indo-Chinese Opium Question. *Calcutta Rev.* .	L.O. Essays, IV, 143.
1086		Status of Slavery in Zanzibár. *P.M.G.* . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 378.
1087		De Lunaticâ Inquirendâ. *P.M.G.* . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 611.
1088		On the Murder of two Ladies at Dehli, 1857. On the first day of the Mutinies. *P.M.G.* .	Copy.
1089		Not a single Independent Native Christian Church in India. *R.*	Copy.
1090	1894	Byways of Bible-Work: Written Characters and Dialects. *B.F.B.S. Reporter* . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 527, 528.
1091		Conversion of India. George Smith. Rev. *P.M.G.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 204.
1092		Native Churches in India and Africa. *P.M.G.* .	L.O. Essays, IV, 193.
1093		Importance of Native Bishops in Africa and India. Letter to *Times*	L.O. Essays, IV, 193.
1094		Conference of Missions of Church of England. *P.M.G.*	Copy.
1095		The Papal Bull on the Study of the Bible. *R.R. of R.*	L O. Essays, IV, 531.
1096		Ma-Tabéle Scandal	L.O. Essays, IV, 330.
1097		Missionary Warnings, Twentieth Century: "Religions of the Ancient World." Lect. at British Museum. Pamphlet . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 457.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1098	1894	Bishop of Liverpool, Dr. Ryle. *Rec.* . . .	Copy.
1099		The Occupation of U-Gánda. Pamphlet. 1894 .	L.O. Essays, IV, 244.
1100		Baptism of Polygamists. Missionary Conference	Gospel Message, 288.
1101		Missionary Methods. Volume	Copy.
1102		Missionary Warnings, Twentieth Century: "Disabilities of Native Christians." Pamphlet .	L.O. Essays, IV, 198. Gospel Message, 412.
1103		Phil. Notes: African. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 106.
1104		Ancient Religions before Anno Domini. (English and French.) International Oriental Congress, Geneva.	L.O. Essays, IV, 408.
1105		Obit. N. of Brian H. Hodgson. *J.R.A.S.* . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 75.
1106		Dissertation on Land Tenure in Bengal. Sir W. W. Hunter. Rev. *J.R.A.S.* . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 215.
1107		Byways of Bible-Work: Nomenclature. *B.F.B.S. Reporter*	L.O. Essays, IV, 629.
1108		Relations between Civilized White Christians and African Barbarians. *Nyasa News*. . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 384.
1109		Great and Inestimable Gift of Self-Sacrifice. *R.R. of R.*	Gospel Message, 1.
1112		English Romish Bishop in U-Gánda. Three letters to *Rec.*	Copy.
1113		L. of Fulah. G. Guiraudon. *P.M.G.* . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 106.
1114		L.O. Essays. Series IV. Volume . . .	Copy.
1115		Proposal for the B.F.B.S. to withdraw from Germany and Switzerland in 1900. Letter to *Rec.* .	Copy.
1116		Speech at Missionary Conference: Native Episcopate	Gospel Message, 357.
1117		"Iphigenia in Tauris" at Cambridge. *R.R. of R.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 601.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1118	1894	L. of Zulu. G. Grout. *J.R.A.S.* . . .	L.O. Essays, IV, 108.
1119		Suggestion to prepare a Catalogue *Raisonnée* of Trans. of Book of Common Prayer. Letter to S.P.C.K.	Copy.
1120		On the Venetian Council of the S.P.G. Letter to *Guar.*	Copy.
1121	1895	Dawn of Civilization. Maspero. Rev. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, IV, 623.
1122		Catalogue of my Oriental Library. Pref. Detail of L.	L.O. Essays, V, 82.
1123		Matrimony in parts of South India an innovation. *P.M.G.*	L.O. Essays, V, 408.
1124		A Native Bishop for the African Church. Letter to *Rec.*	Copy.
1125		Missionary Warnings, Twentieth Century: "Missionary Difficulties." Address, St. Paul's Chapter House. Pamphlet . .	Gospel Message, 319.
1126		Question between India and Lancashire. *Asiat. Q.*	Copy.
1127		Repeal of certain Cantonment Regulations, India. *Asiat. Q.*	Copy.
1128		Origin of words 'Elephant' and 'Alabaster.' Letter to *Athen.*	Copy.
1129		Essay on Common Features in all forms of Religious Belief. Volume	Copy.
1130		Obit. N. of Sir H. Rawlinson. *J.R.A.S.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 136.
1131		Phil. Notes: African and Oceanic. *J.R.A.S.* .	Copy.
1132		"Alcestis" at Bradfield Coll. *P.M.G.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 539.
1133		Marriage of Co-respondents. Letter to *Rec.* .	Copy.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1134	1895	Work of Board of Missions. *Times* . . .	Copy.
1135		Work of Board of Missions. *Rec.* . . .	Copy.
1136		Work of Board of Missions. *Guar.* . . .	Copy.
1137		Women Speakers on Platforms. Letter to *Rec.*	Copy.
1139		Secretariat of C.M.S. Two letters to *Rec.* .	Copy.
1140		L. of Kongo. Bentley. App. to D. *Baptist Society Mag.*	L.O. Essays, V, 64.
1141		Native Customs. Brit. Assoc., Ipswich, September	L.O. Essays, V, 185.
1142		Ku Cheng Massacre. Address at Ipswich. Letter to *Rec.*	Copy.
1143		Bishops being absent from their Sees. Letter to *Rec.*	Copy.
1144		Zenobia and Palmyra. Dr. Wright. Rev. *P.M.G.*	Copy.
1145		Conduct of Missionaries at Fuh Chou. Letter to *Rec.*	Copy.
1146		Protest against building a New Workhouse in Chelsea. *West Middlesex Advertiser* . .	Copy.
1147		Protest against the B.F.B.S. publishing Versions of the Scriptures in Latin. Letter to *Rec.* .	L.O. Essays, V, 122.
1148		Vedic India. Madame Ragazin. *P.M.G.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 520.
1149	1896	Gospel Message. Volume	Copy.
1150		*In Memoriam:* Sir C. Aitchison. *C.M.S. Int.* ..	L.O. Essays, V, 438.
1151		Is a Commission on Foreign Missions desirable? *Rev. of the Churches*	L.O. Essays, V, 619.
1152		Twenty-five Years after India. *Asiat. Q.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 212.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1153	1896	Monroe Doctrine for Africa	L.O. Essays, V, 445.
1154		Missionary Warnings, Twentieth Century : "Prospects of the Future." Pamphlet .	Gospel Message, 434.
1155		Danger of Invasion of Sudán. *Herts Mercury* .	Copy.
1156		Suggestions for the Church Missionary Society Centenary	L.O. Essays, V, 585.
1157		Danger of employing Indian Troops. *Asiat. Q.*	L.O. Essays, V, 376.
1158		Folly of the Invasion of Sudán. *Asiat. Q.* .	L.O. Essays, V, 459.
1159		Archæological Exploration, India. *J.R.A.S.* .	L.O. Essays, V, 37.
1160		C.M.S. Atlas. Rev. *Geog. Journal* . . .	Copy.
1161		The Missionaries of the Church of Rome .	L.O. Essays, V, 12.
1162		The Rats of Shah Daula, Panjáb. *J.R.A.S.* .	Copy.
1163		A step in advance of the work of Evangelization. *R.*	L.O. Essays, V, 623.
1164		Assamese Proverbs. Gurdon. *J.R.A.S.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 73.
1165		Phil. Notes of African, Asiatic, and Oceanic L. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, V, 64.
1166		The present state of our knowledge of the Origin of the Phenician and Indian Alphabets. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, V, 1.
1167	1897	Five Essays on Religious Conceptions . .	L.O. Essays, V, 851.
1168		Rio Póngas Mission. *R.*	L.O. Essays, V, 600.
1169		The Position of C.M.S. Missionaries. *R.* . .	Copy.
1170		The Lord's Work in a Seaside Retreat. *R.* .	Copy.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1171	1897	How is Israel to be brought to Christ? *R.* .	L.O. Essays, V, 551.
1172		The Transvaal and Ma-Tabéle-land. *Asiat. Q.* .	L.O. Essays, V, 454.
1173		Slavery in Zanzibar. Letter to *Times* . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 760.
1174		Obit. N. of Sir J. Abbott. *J.R.A.S.* . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 145.
1175		Jubilee Article to the *Calcutta Rev.*: "Advance of Knowledge in the last Half-century" .	L.O. Essays, V, 41.
1176		Poems from 1836 to 1896, sixty years. Second Series. Volume	Copy.
1177		Philology Notes of first Half-year of 1897. *J.R.A.S.*	Copy.
1178		Partition of Turkey. Pamphlet	L.O. Essays, V, 143.
1179		Methods of conveying Ideas to Material Objects. *Asiat. Q.*	L.O. Essays, V, 36.
1180		Aids to Historical Research. *Asiat. Q.* . .	L.O. Essays, V, 38.
1181		Fire Temples at Bakú and Jowala Múkhi. *J.R.A.S.*	L O. Essays, V, 197.
1182		Africa in 1897. *Asiat. Q.*	L.O. Essays, V, 817.
1183		Treatment of Her Majesty's Indian Subjects in Natal. *Asiat. Q.*	L.O. Essays, V, 467.
1184		Scripture Readings	L.O. Essays, V, 654.
1185		Something worthy of the Jubilee . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 770.
1186		The New Judaism	L.O. Essays, V, 554.
1187		Modern Religious Conceptions. Paris Congress. (French.)	L.O. Essays, V, 827.
1188		Abstract of above. *Times of India* . . .	Copy.
1189		Alphabets. *Asiat. Q.*	Copy.
1190		Liberal Unionists. *West Middlesex Advertiser* .	Copy.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1191	1897	Suggestions about Native Churches. Lambeth Conference	L.O. Essays, V, 648.
1192		The Oriental Congresses. *Asiat. Q.* . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 771.
1193		Notice of Books illustrating the Bible . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 674.
1194		Necessity for new Edition of Bagster's Bible in Every Land	L.O. Essays, V, 669.
1195		Oriental Congress, Paris	L.O. Essays, V, 993.
1196		Detailed Survey of Indian Languages. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, V, 809.
1197		Language of Somáli-land. *J.R.A.S.* . . .	L.O. Essays, V, 813.
1198		Address to Men: "The Dignity of Labour" .	L.O. Essays, V, 846.
1299		Linguistic and Oriental Essays. Series V .	Volume.
1200		"Iphigenia in Aulis"	L.O. Essays, V, 540.
1201		A Chapter in the History of Conquest of Panjáb .	L.O. Essays, V, 1041.
1202		Ancient Inscriptions Society	L.O. Essays, V, 33.
1203	1898	Board of Missions Unofficial Note, and Suggestions	L.O. Essays, VI, 1.
1204		Another Chapter in the History of Conquest of Panjáb	L.O. Essays, VI, 42.
1205		The Wonderful Century. *Calcutta Review* . .	L.O. Essays, VI, 25.
1206		Suggestions for changes in the Procedure of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.	L.O. Essays, VI, 17.
1207		Review of Ujfalvy's Hindu-Kush. *Asiat. Q.* .	L.O. Essays, VI, 63.
1208		The Bible Society and the Revised Version. .	L.O. Essays, VI, 39.
1209		On Pictographs or Archaic Forms of Script. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, VI, 65.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.	Where to be found.
1210	1899	The Wonderful Century. Letter to *Rec.* . .	L.O. Essays, VI, 71.
1211		Duty of Great Britain in the matter of Slavery .	L.O. Essays, VI, 77.
1212		History of British India, by Sir W. Hunter. *J.R.A.S.*	L.O. Essays, VI, 92.
1213		Panjáb Notes for 1898.	L.O. Essays, VI, 70.
1214		Philosophic and Imperial Aspect of the Missionary Movement of the Nineteenth Century . .	L.O. Essays, VI, 73.
1215		The Bible Society Committee	L.O. Essays, VI, 84.
1216		Great Britain and Slavery	L.O. Essays, VI, 79.
1217		The Yeddish Dialect used by Hebrews of Eastern Europe	L.O. Essays, VI, 81.
1218		Usher's Chronology of the Bible	L.O. Essays, VI, 91.
1219		Obit. N. of Friederich Müller	L.O. Essays, VI, 95.
1220		Suggestions about Excavations	L.O. Essays, VI, 96.
1221		Language: Birth, Life, and Death. English .	L.O. Essays, VI, 97.
1222		Linguaggio: Nascita, Vita, Morte. Italian .	L.O. Essays, VI, 115.
1223		Life-Memoir	Volume.
1224		Tables of my Blood Relations	Volume.
1225		Linguistic and Oriental Essays. Series VI . .	Copy.
1226		Letter to Royal Geographical Society on the Languages spoken in the British Empire .	L.O. Essays, VI, 159.

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Literary Work contemplated, if Life and Health be spared.

Serial No.	Name of Work.
1	"Via Media." An Essay on the position to be taken by an intelligent Christian betwixt the two extremes of the advanced Higher Critics and the ignorant prejudices of the stupid conservatives. "Damnant quod non intelligunt!"
2	"Via Media." An Essay on the position to be taken by an earnest believer in the Christian Dispensation betwixt the extravagances of the Ceremonialists and the narrow-mindedness of the Traditionalists.
3	An enlarged Edition of "Clouds on the Horizon." An Essay on the various forms of Religion in existence at the close of the Nineteenth Century.
4	Desiderata of the British and Foreign Bible Society at the close of the Nineteenth Century, to render its work efficient for the growing wants of Mankind.
5	A description of the Translation-Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society during the last twenty years, 1878–1898.
6	A description of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society during the last twenty years, 1878–1898.
7	"Peeping into next Century." A contribution in reply to a request of the Editor of the *Twentieth Century*.
8	The Religious condition of the people of India at the close of the Nineteenth Century.
9	List of Languages spoken in the British Empire.
10	Simple facts about Language for the use of Schools and Colleges. An elementary work.
11	List of all the Languages in which Translations exist of the Scriptures, or any form of Religious Literature, in Great Britain or the Continent.

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Serial No.	Name of Work.
12	Essay on the necessity of Higher Training of Selected Missionaries, prepared for submission to the New York Ecumenical Congress in April, 1900.
13	Things required generally at the close of the Nineteenth Century.
14	Report of the International Oriental Congress held at Rome, October, 1899.

London, September, 1899.

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APPENDIX II.

A LIST OF MY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE

Calcutta Review.

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.
1	1846	Countries between the Satlaj and the Jamna.
2	1847	Jalandhar Doab.
3	1852	Palestine and Lebanon.
4		Present State of Turkey.
5	1853	The Ramáyana.
6	1854	Collector of Land Revenue.
7	1855	Mesopotamia.
8	1858	A District during a Rebellion.
9	1859	The Lahór Division.
10		Examination-System. "Detur digniori."
11		Non-Regulation-Justice.
12		French Courts of Justice.
13	1864	Unpaid Native Agency. "Home Rule."

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.
14	1872	Words and Places.
15	1873	Royal Asiatic Society.
16	1874	International Congresses, No. 1.
17	1875	Modern Indigenous Literature of India.
18		Oriental Scholars.
19	1876	Egyptology.
20	1877	Phenician Alphabet.
21		Study of Russian Contemporary History.
22	1878	Religions of India.
23		Languages of the East Indies.
24	1879	International Congresses, No. 2.
25		Monumental Inscriptions.
26	1881	Geography of Greece and Rome.
27		Languages of Africa.
28	1884	Algeria.
29		The Russians on the Caspian.
30		Athens, Rome, Carthage, and Syracuse.
31		Opium-Trade.
32		International Congresses, No. 3.
33	1885	A "Cook's Tour" in Egypt and Palestine.
34	1886	Egypt.
35		Census of India in 1881.
36	1887	International Congresses, No. 4.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.
37	1887	Races and Languages of Oceania.
38	1888	The Liquor-Traffic in India.
39	1889	Relation of Missionaries to Civil Power.
40	1890	International Congresses, No. 5.
41	1893	Opium-Trade with China, 1893.
42	1894	The Ancient Religions of the World.
43	1897	The Advance of Knowledge during the last Half-century. (Jubilee Article of Fifty Years.)
44		The Modern Religions of the World.
45	1898	International Oriental Congress, Paris, 1897.
46		Metempsychosis.
47		A Chapter in the History of the Panjáb, 1845–46.
48	1899	Another Chapter in the History of the Panjáb, 1845–46.
49		This Wonderful Century.
50		Language: its Birth, Life, and Death. (Jubilee Article in number of contributions.)

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APPENDIX III.

A LIST OF MY CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Serial No.	Date.	Subject.
1	1879	Oriental Scholars in India.
2		Obituary Notice of Lord Lawrence.
3	1880	Scholars of African Languages.
4	1884	Obituary Notice of Bishop Caldwell.
5		Origin of the Indian Alphabet.
6		Notice of Language of the Korku.
7		La Società Asiatica Italiana.
8	1885	Obituary Notice of Wm. S. Vaux.
9		Languages of the Caucasus.
10	1886	Note on Languages of Turki.
11	1887	Languages of Oceania.
12		Philological Notes of the Quarter.
13		Review of Müller's "Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft."
14	1888	Language spoken in Zarafshan Valley.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.
15	1889	Obituary Notice of Colonel Ouseley.
16		Comparative Dictionary of Turki Languages. Radloff.
17	1890	Obituary Notice of Sir E. Colebrooke.
18		Obituary Notice of Professor Kremer.
19		Obituary Notice of Sir R. Burton.
20		Language of Singhpho. Needham.
21	1891	Obituary Notice of Rajendra Lal Mitra.
22	1892	Language of Siyin, Burma. Rundall.
23		Obituary Notice of Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx.
24		Obituary Notice of Sir George Campbell.
25		Obituary Notice of Stephen Austin, Hertford.
26		Obituary Notice of Sir James Redhouse.
27		Language of Gujaráti. Tisdall.
28		Language of Télugu. Morris.
29		Obituary Notice of Sir Lewis Pelly.
30		Vocabulary of Language of Sowára.
31		Philological Notes: African and Asiatic.
32	1893	Obituary Notice of Ernest Renan.
33	1894	Language of Zulu. Grout.
34		Philological Notes: African.
35		Obituary Notice of Brian H. Hodgson.
36		Review of Dissertation on Land Tenure in Bengal. Sir W. W. Hunter.

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Serial No.	Date.	Subject.
37	1895	Review of "Dawn of Civilization." Maspero.
38		Obituary Notice of Sir H. Rawlinson.
39		Philological Notes: African and Oceanic.
40		Archæological Exploration, India.
41	1896	The Rats of Shah Daula.
42		Assamese Proverbs. Gurdon.
43		Philological Notes: African, Asiatic, and Oceanic.
44	1897	The Alphabets of Phenicia and India.
45		Fire-Temples, Jowála Mukhi.
46	1898	Linguistic Survey of India.
47		Language of Somáliland.
48	1899	Prehistoric Script.
49		Obituary of Friedrich Müller.
50		Review of Sir W. Hunter's "India."

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APPENDIX IV.

A LIST OF PERIODICALS TO WHICH I HAVE CONTRIBUTED.

Serial No.	List of Periodicals.
1	The Haileybury Observer, 1840–1842.
2	Calcutta Review, 1846–1899.
3	Church Missionary Society's Intelligencer.
4	British and Foreign Bible Society's Reporter.
5	Indian Women. (Zanána-Medical-Bible-Society.)
6	Regions Beyond. (Harley House, Bow.)
7	Illustrated Catholic Missions. (Manchester.)
8	Churchman.
9	Mission-Life, *alias* Church-Work.
10	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
11	Journal of Royal Geographical Society.
12	Pall Mall Gazette.
13	Record.
14	Rock.
15	Guardian.
16	West Middlesex Advertiser.

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Serial No.	List of Periodicals.
17	West London Advertiser.
18	Rutland, Oundle, and Stamford Post.
19	Nonconformist.
20	Journal of the Philological Society.
21	Geographical Magazine. (Trübner.)
22	Sunday at Home.
23	Christian.
24	India. (London.)
25	Athenæum.
26	Times. (Letters and Congress-Reports.)
27	Lahór Gazette.
28	Dehli Gazette.
29	Africa.
30	Academy.
31	Journal of India Association.
32	Leslie's Magazine. (Agra.)
33	Trübner's Record.
34	Church Missionary Society's Gleaner.
35	Everlasting Nation.
36	Mission-Field, S.P.G.
37	Religious Review of Reviews.
38	Church Sunday School Magazine.
39	India Church Quarterly Magazine. (Calcutta.)

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Serial No.	List of Periodicals.
40	Review of the Churches.
41	Saunders' Magazine. (Agra.)
42	Dehli Magazine.
43	Banáras Magazine.
44	Baptist Missionary Society Monthly.
45	Lahór Chronicle.
46	Southern Cross. (Allahabad.)
47	Secundra Messenger. (Agra.)
48	Illustrated Missionary News.
49	The Daily Telegraph.
50	L'Afrique Explorée et Civilisée. (Geneva.)
51	La Rivista Italiana. (Florence.)
52	Nyása News. (E. Equatorial Africa.)
53	Central Africa. (Universities' Mission.)
54	Scottish Geographical Society Magazine.
55	Allen's India Mail.
56	New York Independent.
57	Missionary Review of all the World.
58	Allgemeine Mission Zeitschrift. (Germany.)
59	Hertfordshire Mercury.
60	Journal of Indian Association.
61	Journal of Anthropological Society.
62	Journal of Society of Arts.

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Serial No.	List of Periodicals.
63	Nuova Anthologia di Roma.
64	Anti-Slavery Reporter.
65	Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly.
66	Lagos Echo.
67	Yorkshire Post.
68	Dehli Sketch Book.
69	Ceylon Observer.
70	Indian Antiquary.
71	Hellas. (Amsterdam.)

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APPENDIX V.

A LIST OF THE APPOINTMENTS WHICH I HELD IN INDIA.

Serial No.	Date.	Appointments held in India.
1	1844	Assistant Agent-Governor-General, North-West Frontier.
2	1846	Under-Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.
3		Personal Assistant to Agent to Governor-General, Lahór.
4		Deputy Commissioner of Hoshyarpúr.
5	1849	Deputy Commissioner of Ambála.
	[1850]	FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND. [No. 1.]
6	1852	Joint Magistrate of Banáras.
7		Magistrate and Collector of Banda, Bundelkhund.
	[1855]	FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND. [No. 2.]
8	1858	Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad.
9		Commissioner of Lahór.
10	1859	Commissioner of Amritsar.
11	1860	Financial Commissioner of the Panjáb.
12	1861	Special Commissioner of the Panjáb.
13	1862	Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb.

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Serial No.	Date.	Appointments held in India.
	[1864]	FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND. [No. 3.]
14		Member of Council of Viceroy of India for making Laws.
15		Home-Secretary to the Government of India.
	[1865]	FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND. [No. 4.]
16	1866	Member of Board of Revenue, North-West Provinces.
	[1867]	LEFT INDIA FINALLY.
17	1868	Drafted Code of Revenue for Northern India, while at Home.

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APPENDIX VI.

A LIST OF COMMITTEES, BOARDS, AND COUNCILS, OF WHICH I HAVE BEEN A MEMBER.

Serial No.	List of Committees, Boards, and Councils.
1	Charity Voting Reform Committee.
2	Charity-Organization-Committee, Westminster.
3	Assyrian and Egyptian Lectures.
4	The Society of Biblical Archæology. (Council.)
5	Philological Society. (Council.)
6	The Royal Asiatic Society. (Hon. Secretary.)
7	The Royal Geographical Society. (Council.)
8	Board of Missions, Province of Canterbury. (Hon. Secretary.)
9	Committee of British and Foreign Bible Society. (Vice-President.)
10	Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
11	Committee of the Church Missionary Society. (Life-Governor.)
12	Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
13	Translation-Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
14	Committee of the London Jews Society. (Chairman of Publication Sub-Committee; Vice-President.)

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Serial No.	List of Committees, Boards, and Councils.
15	Committee of the Spanish Church Society.
16	Board of Magistrates, Westminster and Kensington.
17	Guardians of the Poor, Chelsea, and St. George's, Hanover Square.
18	Committee of Indian Female Normal Society. (Financial Sub-Committee.)
19	Committee of Indian Literature Society. (Vice-President.)
20	Committee of Counties of London and Middlesex Prisons. (Female Penitentiary, Millbank, Wormwood Scrubs.)
21	Committee of Missions to Rio Pongas, West Africa.
22	Diocesan Conference of London. (Sub-Committee for General Purposes.)
23	Ruridecanal Conference of Kensington.
24	Committee of Liberal-Unionists, Chelsea. (Secretary and Treasurer.)
25	Committee of Asiatic Strangers' Home, Limehouse. (Vice-President.)
26	Committee of London Clerical and Lay Union. (Vice-President.)
27	Committee of Mission-Conferences in London, 1878, 1888, 1894.
28	Committee of International Geographical Congress, London, 1895.
29	Committee of Anti-Slavery Society.
30	Committee of County Lunatic Asylums. (Bansted, Colney Hatch, Hanwell.)
31	Committee of Women's Hospital, Vincent Square.
32	Committee of Needlewomen's Society, Westminster. (Treasurer.)
33	Union of Church Missionary Society's Workers. (Vice-President.)
34	Subject-Committee of Church Congress, London, 1899.
35	League of Mercy. (Vice-President.)
36	League of Church-Reform.

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APPENDIX VII.

A LIST OF LANGUAGES, OF WHICH I HAVE WORKING KNOWLEDGE.

EUROPEAN.	English.	ASIATIC.	Sanskrit.
	French.		Persian.
	German.		Hindi.
	Italian.		Urdu or Hindustáni.
	Spanish.		Arabic.
	Portuguese.		Hebrew.
	Greek.		Bengáli.
8	Latin.	8	Panjábi.

16.

N.B.—As regards any Language in the world, I can, after a short time for consideration and reference to my notebooks, state:

(1) Where it is spoken.

(2) What Scholar is an authority upon it.

(3) To what Family of Languages it belongs, if not still unclassified.

(4) Whether it has any Literature, and in what Written Character.

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APPENDIX VIII.

A LIST OF HONORARY APPOINTMENTS WHICH I HAVE HELD.

Serial No.	Honorary Appointment.
1	Barrister-at-Law, Lincoln's Inn.
2	LL.D. Edinburgh University.
3	Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society.
4	Vice-President Indian Literature Society.
5	Vice-President of Asiatic Strangers' Home, Limehouse.
6	Vice-President of C.M.S. Workers' Union for London.
7	Honorary Life-Governor (for services rendered) of Church Missionary Society.
8	Justice of the Peace, County of London, and Liberty of Westminster.
9	Justice of the Peace, County of Middlesex.
10	Honorary Member of American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, U.S.A.
11	Diocesan Reader of Diocese of London. (Preacher.)
12	Member of Board of Missions, Province of Canterbury. (Secretary.)
13	Member of the Church House Corporation.
14	Corresponding Member of New York Academy of Anthropology.
15	Honorary Member of the Netherlands Geographical Society.

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Serial No.	Honorary Appointment.
16	Diploma-holder for Map of Africa, International Geographical Congress, Venice.
17	Honorary Member of State Historical Society of Wisconsin, U.S.
18	Member of Panjáb Archæological and Statistical Committee, Lahór.
19	Member of Law Committee of Proprietors of East India Stock.
20	Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
21	Honorary Secretary and Treasurer to Liberal-Unionist Committee, Chelsea.
22	Member of Evangelical Alliance.
23	Delegate of the Government of the Panjáb to the Oriental International Congresses.

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APPENDIX IX.

A LIST OF FOREIGN TOURS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.

Serial No.	Date.	Countries Visited.
1	1841	The German Capitals and Austria.
2	1842	Italy, passing through Switzerland, the Rhine Provinces, and Belgium.
3	1843	Egypt, North India.
4	1850–1	Kashmír, Pesháwur, and Sindh.
5	1852	Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt.
6	1856	Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy.
7	1876	Scandinavia, Russia, and Germany.
8	1877	Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria.
9	1878	France and Italy.
10	1879	Switzerland and Italy.
11	1880	Spain, Portugal, and France.
12	1881	Germany, Italy, and Greece.
13	1882	France, Algeria, Tunisia, Sicily, and Italy.
14	1883	Holland, Germany, South Russia, Caspian Sea, and Constantinople.

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Serial No.	Date.	Countries Visited.
15	1884	North Cape and Norway.
16	1885	Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.
17	1886	Austria, Germany, and France.
18	1887	Spain, Morocco, and Italy.
19	1888	Russia, Austria, and Italy.
20	1889	Sweden, Russia, and Germany.
21	1891	Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and Holland.
		VOYAGES TO INDIA AND BACK.
1	1843	London to Calcutta, *viâ* Naples, Malta, Egypt.
2	1851	Bombay to London, *viâ* Egypt, Trieste.
3	1852	London to Bombay, *viâ* Trieste, Egypt.
4	1855	Bombay to London, *viâ* Egypt, Trieste.
5	1857	London to Calcutta, *viâ* Trieste, Egypt.
6	1864	Calcutta to London, *viâ* Egypt, Gibraltar.
		London to Calcutta, *viâ* Marseilles, Egypt.
7	1865	Calcutta to London, *viâ* Egypt, Marseilles.
8	1866	London to Calcutta, *viâ* Marseilles, Egypt.
9	1867	Calcutta to London, *viâ* Egypt, Gibraltar.

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APPENDIX X.

A LIST OF CONGRESSES, OF WHICH I HAVE BEEN A MEMBER.

Serial No.	Date.	Name of Congress.
		I. SCIENTIFIC.
1	1874	Second International Oriental Congress, London.
2	1876	Third International Oriental Congress, St. Petersburg.
3	1878	Fourth International Oriental Congress, Florence.
4		International Geographical Congress, Paris.
5		French Oriental Congress, Lyons.
6	1881	Fifth International Oriental Congress, Berlin.
7		International Geographical Congress, Venice.
8	1883	Sixth International Oriental Congress, Leyden.
9	1886	Seventh International Oriental Congress, Vienna.
10	1889	Eighth International Oriental Congress, Stockholm.
11	1891	International Geographical Congress, Berne.
12	1894	Tenth International Oriental Congress, Geneva. Member, not present, contributed a paper.
13	1895	International Geographical Congress, London.

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Serial No.	Date.	Name of Congress.
14	1897	Eleventh International Oriental Congress, Paris. Member, not present, contributed a paper.
15	1899	Twelfth International Oriental Congress, Rome. Member, not present, contributed a paper.
		II. Religious.
1	1878	Missionary Congress of all Churches.
2	1888	Missionary Congress of all Churches.
3	1894	Missionary Congress of Church of England.
4	1899	Church Congress, London.

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APPENDIX XI.

A LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS MADE BY ME TO CONGRESSES.

Serial No.	Date.	Communication to Congress.
		I. INTERNATIONAL.
1	1878	At Florence, in Italian. Non-Arian L. of India.
2	1881	At Berlin, in German. Our Present Knowledge of L. of Africa.
3	1883	At Leyden, in English. Origin of Indian Alphabet.
4	1886	At Vienna, in German. Our Present Knowledge of L. of Oceania.
5	1889	At Stockholm, in German and English. Geog. Distribution of Turki L.
6	1891	At Berne, in English and French. Occupation of Africa by Christian Missionaries.
7	1893	At Chicago, in English and French. Progress of African Philology.
8	1894	At Geneva, in English and French. Ancient Religions before Anno Domini.
9	1897	At Paris, in English and French. Modern Religious Conceptions.
10	1899	At Rome, in English and Italian. Language: its Birth, Life, and Death.
		II. BRITISH ASSOCIATION.
1	1885	At Aberdeen. African Philology.
2	1895	At Ipswich. Non-Interference with Native Customs.

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APPENDIX XII.

A LIST OF INSTITUTIONS, AT WHICH I HAVE GIVEN LECTURES ON DIFFERENT OCCASIONS.

Serial No.	Name of Institution.
1	United Service Institution, Whitehall.
2	The Royal Asiatic Society.
3	The Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, W.C.
4	Ditto. Workers Union for London. Ditto.
5	The Young Women's Christian Association, Old Cavendish Street, W.
6	The Young Women's Friendly Society, Kensington, S.W.
7	Harley House, Bow.
8	The College of the Church Missionary Society, Islington.
9	The Undergraduates of the University of Oxford in Balliol College.
10	The Undergraduates of University of Cambridge in Henry Martyn Hall.
11	Wycliffe Hall, Oxford.
12	Ridley Hall, Cambridge.
13	The Indian Association.
14	Philological Society.
15	The Society of Arts.
16	Eton College.

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Serial No.	Name of Institution.
17	The Royal Society of Literature.
18	Vincent Square Hospital, S.W.
19	Clerical Meetings to discuss the Opium Question. (Bermondsey and Whitechapel.)
20	Conference Hall, Boys' Home, Strangeways, Manchester.
21	Steinway Hall, London, W.
22	Diocesan Conferences in England and Ireland.
23	British Museum, to Sunday Schools Association, Kilburn.
24	Chapter House of St. Paul's, Lay Readers of the Diocese.
25	Training Institute of Pastors, Florence. (In Italian.)

APPENDIX XIII.

TRANSLATIONS OF MY WORKS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

French. Italian. German. Spanish. Greek. Urdu.

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APPENDIX XIV.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN TOWNS WHERE I HAVE GIVEN PUBLIC ADDRESSES.

I. British.

Serial No.	Place.	Serial No.	Place.	Serial No.	Place.
1	Bath.	16	Egham.	31	Margate.
2	Bedford.	17	Eton.	32	Newcastle.
3	Blackheath.	18	Grantham.	33	Oxford.
4	Boston.	19	Gravesend.	34	Preston.
5	Brighton.	20	Hampstead.	35	Reigate.
6	Broxbourne Bury, Herts	21	Harrow.	36	Salisbury.
7	Bury St. Edmunds.	22	Hereford.	37	Sheffield.
8	Cambridge.	23	Hertford.	38	Southampton.
9	Chester.	24	Huntingdon.	39	Stamford.
10	Croydon.	25	Leicester.	40	St. Leonards.
11	Darlington.	26	Leighton Buzzard.	41	Tiverton.
12	Derby.	27	Liverpool.	42	Watford.
13	Dublin.	28	London.	43	Winchester.
14	Durham.	29	Louth.	44	Windsor.
15	Eastbourne.	30	Manchester.	45	York.

II. Foreign.

1	Athens.	5	Florence.	8	Paris.
2	Beirút.	6	Leyden.	9	Stockholm.
3	Berlin.	7	Lyons.	10	Vienna.
4	Berne.				

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PUBLIC ADDRESSES.

NUMBER OF SPEECHES, ADDRESSES, LECTURES, AND SERMONS, 1877–1899.

Serial No.	Date.	Number.	Serial No.	Date.	Number.
1	1877	4	13	1889	34
2	1878	17	14	1890	48
3	1879	29	15	1891	42
4	1880	40	16	1892	41
5	1881	27	17	1893	23
6	1882	28	18	1894	13
7	1883	22	19	1895	13
8	1884	42	20	1896	18
9	1885	43	21	1897	6
10	1886	49	22	1898	10
11	1887	23	23	1899	5
12	1888	46		Total ...	623

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APPENDIX XV.

SERMONS PREACHED IN THE DIOCESE OF LONDON.

Serial No.	Sermons.
	I. Consecrated Buildings.
1	St. Andrew's, Kentish Town.
2	St. Peter's, Whitechapel.
3	St. Philip's, Waterloo Place, Regent Street.
4	Christ Church, Endell Street.
5	Holy Trinity, Marylebone. (Open-air Pulpit.)
6	St. Mary's, Bryanston Square.
7	Holy Trinity, Marylebone.
8	Bromley St. Leonard's, Bow.
9	Holy Trinity, Brondesbury Road, Kilburn.
	II. Unconsecrated Buildings.
1	Town Hall, Chelsea. (Sunday Evening Gatherings, 9 p.m.)
2	Congregational Chapel, Markham Square, Chelsea
3	Workhouse, Chelsea. (Sunday Services.)

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Serial No.	Sermons.
4	St. James the Less, S.W. (Step of the door outside.)
5	Seven Dials. Short's Buildings Chapel, Endell Street.
6	Mothers' Meeting. St. Giles' Schoolhouse.
7	Parish Hall, South Acton.

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APPENDIX XVI.

LONDON CLUBS.

Serial No.	Date.	Name of Club.
1	1851	East India Club, St. James's Square.
2	1855	Oriental Club, Hanover Square.
3	1856–93	Travellers' Club, Pall Mall.

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APPENDIX XVII.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES, TO WHICH I HAVE BELONGED.

Serial No.	Scientific Societies.
1	Society of Arts.
2	Hellenic Society.
3	Philological Society.
4	Egyptian Exploration Society.
5	Société Asiatique, Paris.
6	Société Philologique, Paris.
7	Société Linguistique, Paris.
8	Institut d'Afrique, Paris.
9	German Oriental Society, Leipsic.
10	Italian Oriental Society, Florence.
11	Society of Biblical Archæology.
12	Dutch Geographical Society, Amsterdam.
13	Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
14	Royal Asiatic Society.
15	Royal Geographical Society.
16	Society for Amendment of the Law.

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APPENDIX XVIII.

RELIGIOUS, MISSIONARY, AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES TO WHICH I HAVE BELONGED.

Serial No.	Religious, Missionary, and Benevolent Societies.
1	British and Foreign Bible Society. (Committee.)
2	Society for Propagation of Gospel. (Committee.)
3	Church Missionary Society. (Committee.)
4	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (Committee.)
5	Baptist Missionary Society. (By subscription.)
6	Wesleyan Missionary Society. (By subscription.)
7	London Missionary Society. (By subscription.)
8	Religious Tract Society. (By subscription.)
9	City Mission, London. (By subscription.)
10	Christian Literature Society, India. (Committee.)
11	Universities' Mission to E. Equatorial Africa. (By subscription.)
12	Spanish Church. (Committee.)
13	Mission to Rio Pongas. (Committee.)
14	London Jews Society. (Committee.)
15	Moravian Missions. (By subscription.)
16	Society to Control Liquor-Traffic to Native Races. (By subscription.)

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Serial No.	Religious, Missionary, and Benevolent Societies.
17	Asiatic Strangers' Home. (Committee.)
18	Melanesian Mission. (By subscription.)
19	Church of England Zanána Society. (By subscription.)
20	Zanána, Medical, Bible Society. (Committee.)
21	Young Women's Christian Association. (By subscription.)
22	Flower Girls' Association. (By subscription.)
23	American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, U.S. (Honorary.)
24	Turkish Aid Society. (By subscription.)
25	Kongo-Balolo Mission, Harley House. (By subscription.)
26	Clerical Lay Union. (By subscription.)
27	Charity Organization. (By subscription.)
28	Brabazon Fund in Workhouses. (By subscription.)
29	China-Inland-Mission. (By subscription.)
30	British Syrian Schools. (By subscription.)
31	North African Mission. (By subscription.)

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APPENDIX XIX.

POEMS WRITTEN.

Serial No.	Volumes Published.
1	Haileybury Observer, 1841, 1842, 1843.
2	Poems of Many Years and Many Places, 1887.
3	Sorrows of an Anglo-Indian Life, 1889.
4	Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Series III, 1891.
5	Bible-Diffusion, 1892. (One.)
6	Notes on Missionary Subjects, Part IV, 1889. (One.)
7	Voices of the Past, 1895. (One.)
8	Common Features in all Religions, 1895. (Two.)
9	Gospel Message, 1896. (One.)
10	Poems of Many Years and Many Places, Series II, 1897.

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APPENDIX XX.

MEDALS AND OTHER TOKENS OF HONOUR.

Serial No.	Medals and other Tokens of Honour.	
1	Gold, for proficiency in Urdu Language,	East India College, Haileybury.
2	Gold, for proficiency in Political Economy,	
3	Gold, for proficiency in Urdu Language,	College, Fort William, Calcutta.
4	Gold, for proficiency in Bengálí Language,	
5	Degree of Honour in Persian Language.	
6	Silver, Satlaj Campaign, Panjáb, 1845-6.	
7	Silver, Panjáb Campaign, 1848.	
8	Silver, Mutinies, 1858.	
9	Bronze, Lahór Exhibition, 1864.	
10	Bronze, North-West Provinces of India Exhibition, 1866.	
11	Bronze, Geographical Congress, Venice, 1881.	
12	Silver Badge of Geographical Congress, 1895.	
13	Degree of LL.D. Edinburgh University, 1886.	
14	Badge and Collar of London Diocesan Reader, 1891.	

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APPENDIX XXI.

SUBDIVISIONS.

A. Persons of note, whom I have seen and recollect.

B. Persons of note, whom I have met; with whom I have conversed for longer or shorter periods, or only on one single occasion; or with whom I have maintained correspondence without ever meeting.

PERIOD I. Before I arrived in India, 1843.

PERIOD II. During the period of my Indian Service, 1843–1867.

PERIOD III. After my final return to England, 1868.

This last Period III is subdivided as follows into five classes:

(1) Ecclesiastics of all Churches and Nationalities.
(2) Scholars, Authors, Editors, of all Nationalities.
(3) Laymen (exclusive of Scholars), English.
(4) ,, ,, ,, Foreign.
(5) Scientists, Explorers, Travellers, of all Nationalities.

A. PERSONS OF NOTE, WHOM I HAVE SEEN AND RECOLLECT.

King George IV, 1829.
King William IV, 1830–1837.
Queen Victoria, 1830–1899.
Empress Marie Louise of France (widow of Napoleon I).
Emperor Napoleon III.
Empress Eugenie of France.
King Louis Philippe of France.
Emperor Alexander II of Russia.
Emperor Ferdinand of Austria.
Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria.
King Friederich of Prussia.
Emperor Wilhelm of Germany.
Emperor Friederich of Germany.
Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany.
King of Holland.
Queen of Holland.
King Alphonso of Spain.
Queen Isabella of Spain.
King Victor Emmanuel of Italy.

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King Humbert of Italy.
Leopold King of the Belgians (1).
Leopold King of the Belgians (2).
Otho King of Greece.
Duke of Sparta.
King of Naples. (Bomba.)
Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey.
Pope Gregory XVI.
Pope Pius IX.
Mahomet Ali Pasha of Egypt.
Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt.
Duke of Saxe-Coburg.
Duchess of Saxe-Coburg.
Duke of Genoa.
Prince Talleyrand.
Marshal Soult.
Marquess of Wellesley.
Sir Robert Peel.
Earl Russell.
Daniel O'Connell.
David Livingstone.
Lord Tennyson.
Cardinal Mezzofanti.
Cardinal Newman.
Charles Dickens.
Spurgeon.
Moody.
Sankey.
Archbishop Howley.
Archbishop Sumner.
Bishop of Lincoln (Kaye).
Provost of King's College, Cambridge (Thackeray).

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B. PERSONS OF NOTE, WHOM I HAVE MET; WITH WHOM I HAVE CONVERSED FOR LONGER OR SHORTER PERIODS, OR ONLY ON ONE SINGLE OCCASION; OR WITH WHOM I HAVE MAINTAINED CORRESPONDENCE WITHOUT EVER MEETING.

PERIOD I.

BEFORE I ARRIVED IN INDIA, 1843.

Queen Adelaide.
George Duke of Cambridge.
Bishop Sumner of Winchester.
William Ewart Gladstone.
Lepsius the Egyptologist.
Professor Horace Hayman Wilson.
Provost Goodall of Eton.
Provost Hawtrey of Eton.
Provost Goodford of Eton.
Dr. Keate, Head-Master of Eton.
Rogers, the Poet.
Bishop W. Selwyn of Lichfield.
Frederick Locker, the Poet.
Lord Chancellor Campbell.
Sir George Campbell.
Goldwin Smith.
Professor Eastwick of Haileybury.
Justice Park.
Chief Justice Lord Coleridge.
Father Coleridge.
Bishop Mackarness of Oxford.
Dean Jeremy of Lincoln.
Bishop Patteson of Melanesia.
Henry Hallam ("Middle Ages").
Bishop Chapman of Columbo.
Earl of Wemyss.
Bishop Ryle of Liverpool.
Bishop Philpotts of Exeter.
Bishop Abraham of New Zealand.
Sir Clive Bayley.
Sir Henry Davies.
Dr. Wilson of Bombay.
Canon Furse.
Sir M. Monier-Williams.
Lord Charles Russell.
Hon. Dudley Fortescue.
Canon Francis Murray.
Walter Duke of Buccleugh.

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PERIOD II.

DURING THE PERIOD OF MY INDIAN SERVICE, 1843–1867.

A. *Civilians.*

Lord Chancellor Brougham.
Earl of Ellenborough.
Marquess of Dalhousie.
Lord Canning.
Sir Edmund Drummond.
James Thomason.
John Colvin.
Lord Lawrence.
Sir Frederick Currie.
Sir James Hogg.
Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick.
Lord Macaulay.
Lord Napier and Ettrick.
Sir George Clerk.
Sir Charles Trevelyan.
Sir Henry Maine.
Sir James Colvill.
Sir Lawrence Peel.
Sir John Strachey.
Sir Richard Strachey.
Sir Richard Temple.
Sir Charles Murray, Egypt.
Consul Finn, Jerusalem.
Sir Henry Elliott.
Viscount Falkland.
Sir Robert Montgomery.
Sir Donald McLeod.
Sir Bartle Frere.
Edward Henry Earl of Derby.
Sir Henry Harrington.
Right Hon. Spencer Walpole.
Sir Edward Colebroke.
Lord Justice Knight-Bruce.
Sir Cecil Beadon.
Sir W. Grey.
Sir J. P. Grant.
Sir Frederick Halliday.
Sir Henry Anderson.
Sir A. Phayre.
Sir Herbert Maddock.
Sir Erskine Perry.
Sir William Muir.
Sir Barrow Ellis.
Sir Charles Elliott.
Sir F. Arbuthnot.
Dr. Marshman.

B. *Soldiers.*

F.M. Viscount Gough.
F.M. Viscount Hardinge.
F.M. Lord Strathnairn.
F.M. Sir Patrick Grant.
F.M. Lord Clyde.
F.M. Sir Frederick Haines.
F.M. Lord Combermere.
Sir Harry Smith.
Sir Robert Sale.
Sir Henry Havelock.
Sir Henry Lawrence.
Sir Herbert Edwardes.
John Nicolson of Dehli.
Sir George Lawrence.
Lord Napier of Magdala.
Sir Charles Napier.
Lord Sandhurst.
Sir Henry Yule.
Pottinger of Herat.
Sir George Pollock.
Sir William Nott.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

General Avitabile.
General Ventura.
General Van Courtland.
Major George Broadfoot.
General Edward Lake.
Colonel Mackeson.
Arthur Duke of Wellington.
Colonel Mallison.
Sir Henry Norman.
Major Leech.
Lord Mark Ker.

C. *Natives of India.*

Emperor of Dehli.
King Shah Zemán of Afghanistan.
Maharája Guláb Singh of Kashmír.
Maharája Runbír Singh of Kashmír.
Maharája Dulíp Singh of Lahór.
Dwarkanath Tagór.
Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagara.
Rája of Ladwa.
Rája of Jhend.
Rája of Nabha.
Maharája of Pateála.
Diwán Dina Nath.
Sirdar Tej Singh.
Rája of Aluwála.
Rája of Banáras.
Nawab of Banda.
Maharája Holkar of Indór.
Nana Sahib of Banda.
Rája of Vizianágram.
Rani of Vizianágram.
Sirdar Peshóra Khan, son of Dost Mahomed.

D. *Scholars.*

Ferdinand Lesseps.
Sir H. Rawlinson.
Sir Alexander Cunningham.
Dr. John Muir.
Baron Bunsen.
Professor Ballantyne.
Dr. Kittoe.
Prof. Hall of U.S.

E. *Ecclesiastics.*

Bishop Daniel Wilson (Calcutta).
Bishop Cotton (Calcutta).
Bishop Milman (Calcutta).
Bishop Gobat (Jerusalem).
Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (Oxford).
Bishop French (Lahór).
Bishop Mathews (Lahór).
Bishop Stuart (New Zealand and Persia).
Bishop Samuel Crowther (Niger).
Archdeacon Pratt.
Archdeacon Dealtry.
Archbishop Longley (Canterbury).

F. *Miscellaneous.*

Prince Albert.
"Maid of Athens" of Lord Byron.
Prince Waldemar of Prussia.
Lady McNaghten (Marchioness of Headfort).
Duke of Northumberland (Lord Prudhoe).
Lady Canning.
Marchioness of Waterford.
Earl of Ripon.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PERIOD III.

AFTER MY FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND, 1868.

CLASS I. ECCLESIASTICS OF ALL CHURCHES.

A. ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE.

Archbishops.

Canterbury (Tait).
„ (Benson).
„ (Temple).
York (Maclagan).
Armagh (Knox).
„ (Alexander).
Dublin (Trench).
„ (Lord Plunket).
West Indies (Nuttall).
Cape of Good Hope (W. W. Jones).
Australia (De Saumarez Smith).

Diocesans.

London (Jackson).
„ (Creighton).
Durham (Westcott).
„ (Lightfoot).
Winchester (Harold Browne).
„ (Davidson).
Chichester (Durnford).
„ (Wilberforce).
Salisbury (Wordsworth).
Lincoln (Wordsworth).
„ (King).
Ely (Lord A. Compton).
Gloucester (Ellicott).
Peterborough (Carr Glyn).
St. Albans (Festing).
Truro (Wilkinson).
Exeter (Bickersteth).
Rochester (Talbot).
Bath and Wells (Lord A. Hervey).
Newcastle (Jacob).
Southwell (Ridding).
Worcester (Perowne).
Crediton (Trefusis).
Marlborough (Earle).
Islington (Turner).
Stepney (Winnington Ingram).
Guildford (Sumner).
Wakefield (Eden).
Dover (Walsh).
Bedford (Billing).
Downe (Welland).

B. COLONIAL AND FOREIGN EPISCOPATE.

Europe.

Gibraltar (Sandford).

Asia.

Jerusalem (Blyth).
Rangoon (Strachan).
China (Alford).
„ (Moule).
„ (Burdon).
„ (Hoare).
Japan (Poole).
„ (Bickersteth).
„ (Awdry).
Korea (Corfe).

India and Ceylon.

Calcutta (Welldon).
„ (Thompson).
Travancore (Speechly).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Travancore (Hodges).
Madras (Gell).
„ (Whitehead).
Tinnevelly (Caldwell).
„ (Sargent).
Lahór (Lefroy).
Bombay (Milne).
„ (MacArthur).
Colombo (Coplestone).

Africa.

Sierra Leone (Ingham).
„ (Taylor Smith).
W. Equatorial Africa (Tugwell).
„ „ (Phillips).
„ „ (Oluwole).
Zululand (Carter).
Zanzibar (Steere).
„ (Smithies).
„ (Richardson).
Likóma (Maples).
U-Ganda (Tucker).
„ (Hannington).
„ (Parker).
Mombasa (Peel).
Mauritius (Royston),

America.

Mackenzie River (Reeves).
Canada (Anson).
„ (Bompas).
„ (Horden).
„ (Helmuth).
Central and South Hondúras (Ormsby).
Falkland Islands (Stirling).
Trinidad (Hayes).

Australia.

Ballarát (Thornton).
Perth (Parry).
Melbourne (Perry)
Sydney (Barry).
Brisbane (Webber).
North Queensland (Barlow).
New Zealand (Abraham).
Melanesia (John Selwyn).
Tasmania (Montgomery).

United States.

Minnesota (Whipple).
Cairo (Hale).
Spain Protestant Church (Cabréras).

C. DIGNITARIES OF CHURCH.

Dean Gregory.
„ Purey-Cust.
„ Farrar.
„ Bradley.
„ Stanley.
„ Eliot.
„ Wellesley.
„ Vaughan.
„ Fremantle (1).
„ Fremantle (2).
„ Goode.
Provost Hornby, Head-Master Warre } Eton.
Archdeacon Crowther (Niger).
„ Johnson (Sierra Leone).
„ Moule (China).
„ Sinclair (St. Paul's).
„ Thornton (Middlesex).
„ Long (Sunderland).
Canon or Prebendary Basil Wilberforce.
„ „ Edmunds.
„ „ Fleming.
„ „ Hoare.
„ „ Churton.
„ „ Hatch.
„ „ Wace.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

D. THEOLOGIANS, CRITICS, HEADS OF COLLEGES.

Driver.
Salmon.
Sanday.
Paget.
5 Austen Leigh.
Butler.
Mitchinson.
8 Neville Grenville.

E. MISSIONARIES OF ALL CHURCHES.

Koelle.
Kolbe.
Barton.
Hudson-Taylor.
5 James Long.
James Johnson (Lagos).
Dandeson Crowther (Niger).
Schön.
Robert Clark.
10 Leupolt.
W. Smith.
Strawbridge.
Vandyke.
Klein.
15 Satyanádan.
Nehemiah Goreh.
Gopináth Nundi.
Krishna Mohun Bánerji.
Murdoch.
20 Whitmee.
Cousins.
Krapf.
Flad (Abyssinia).
David Mohun.
25 Edkins.

Secretaries of Missionary Committees.

H. Fox.
Wigram
Wright.
Venn.
30 Thompson (Boston, U.S.).
Means ,,
Sharp.
Paul.
Watt.
35 Tucker.
McClure.
37 Allen.

F. CLERGY, ETC.

Sir James Philipps.
Horace Waller.
Hay Aitken.
Christopher (Oxford).

Italian Protestant Church.

5 Count Campello.

Church of Rome.

Cardinal Lavigerie.
Cardinal Manning.
Cardinal Vaughan.
Bishop O'Hanlon (U-Ganda).
10 Bishop of Lagos.
Bishop of Emmaus, Chelsea.
Father Riviere (Zambési).
Father Torrend (S.J.).
Father Bowden (Oratory, Brompton).
15 Father Casertelli (St. Bede's, Manchester).

Nonconformist Churches.

Duff.
Underhill.
18 Mullens.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CLASS II. SCHOLARS, AUTHORS, EDITORS, OF ALL NATIONALITIES.

A. *English.*

Birch (B. Museum).
Renouf „
Sir Maunde Thompson (B. Museum).
Franks (B. Museum).
Garnett „
Stuart Poole. „
Douglas „
Budge „
Pinches „
Boscawen „
Sir Charles Newton „
Bendall „
Wollaston (India Office).
Burnell „
Childers „
Tawney „
Sayce (Oxford).
Legge „
Platt „
William Wright (Cambridge).
Aldis Wright „
Palmer „
Browne „
Cowell „
Whitley Stokes.
Sir William Hunter.
Robertson Smith.
Ouseley.
Loewe.
Gaster.
Mahaffy (Dublin).
Eggeling (Edinburgh).
George Smith, C.S.I.
Ginsburg.
Sweet.
Bosanquet.
Chenery.
Brian Hodgson.
Sir G. Coxe.
Bosworth Smith.
Hepworth Dixon.
Alex. Wylie.
Edward Thomas.
Sir Frederick Goldsmid.
McCall.
Matthew Arnold.
Lord Houghton (Monckton Milnes).
Townshend.
Dr. Rawlinson.
John Murray.
Hyde Clark.
De Blowitz (*Times*).
Codrington.
Ray.
Kellogg.
Gerson da Cunha
Burgess.
Mrs. Lewis.
Mrs. Gibson.
George Grierson.
Beames.
Luzac.
Burkitt.
Rylands.
Sir Edwin Arnold.
Bunbury.
Ball.
Henry Newman.
Leitner.
Stanley Lane Poole.
Latham.
Beale.
W. G. Aston.

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Stein.
75 Rhys Davids.
Pope.
John Richard Green.
78 Dr. Morris.

B. *French.*

Breal.
Hovelacque.
Abbadie.
Garcin de Tassy.
5 Renan.
Foucaux.
Mohl.
Féer.
Zotenburg.
10 Le Roux.
Berger.
Vinson.
Oppert.
Derenbourg.
15 Scheffer.
Cordier.
Pierrot.
Senart.
Clermont Ganneau.
20 Ujfalvy.
Lenormant.
Marré.
Barth.
Halévy.
25 Darmesteter.
26 Textor de Ravisi.

C. *United States.*

Grout.
Leland (Hans Breitman).
Noble (Chicago).
Lanman.
5 Whitney.
6 Paul Haupt.

D. *Germany.*

Weber.
Sachau.
Benfey.
Roth.
5 Rost.
Neubauer.
Bohtlingk.
Reinisch.
Max Müller.
10 Krause.
Schiefner.
Von der Gabelentz.
Trumpp.
Dillman.
15 Haug.
Julg.
Kuhn.
Goldstücker.
Ethé.
20 Seidel.
21 Christaller.

E. *Italy.*

Gorresio.
Amári.
Ascoli.
Gubernátis.
5 Teza.
Pullé.
7 Guidi.

F. *Austria-Hungary.*

Hunfalvy.
Fried. Müller.
D. H. Müller.
Bühler.
5 Vambéry.

G. *Russia.*

Gregorief.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Vassilief.
Minayef.
Kossowich.
Terantief.
De Rosen.
Patkhanoff.
Radloff.
Lagus } Finland.
Donner }

H. *Holland.*

Pleijte.
De Goeje.
Leemans.
Kern.
Tiele.
Dozy.
Veth.

I. *Belgium.*

Goblet d'Alviella.
Van der Gheyn.
Neve.

J. *Spain.*

Ayuso.
Coello.
Gayangos.

K. *Portugal.*

Vasconcellos.

L. *Scandinavia.*

Mehren.
Almqvist.
Lieblein.

M. *Switzerland.*

Naville.
Rieu.

N. *Greece.*

Rousopoulos.
Spiridion Papageorgias

O. *Turkey.*

Amirkhanianz.

P. *Egypt.*

Brugsch Bey.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CLASS III. ENGLISH LAYMEN (EXCLUSIVE OF SCHOLARS).

Duchess of Teck.
Duke of Argyll.
Marquess of Lorne.
Lord Aberdare.
Earl of Northbrook.
General Gordon of Khartúm.
Duke of Wellington (2nd).
Duke of Westminster.
Duke of Bedford.
Lord Arthur Russell.
Marquess of Ripon.
Prince Edward Duke of Clarence.
Marquess of Dufferin.
Marquess of Dalhousie.
William Marquess of Exeter.
Brownlow Marquess of Exeter.
Marquess of Salisbury.
Sir Charles Dilke.
Lord Cromer.
John Bright.
Joseph Chamberlain.
Earl of Stamford.
Sir Lepel Griffin.
Earl Granville.
Lord Stanmore.
John Duke of Rutland.
Ralph Disraeli.
Sir H. Barkley.
Sir Thomas Wade.
Sir Henry Howorth.
Sir Edwin Arnold.
Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff.
Sir Francis De Winton.
Sir George Goldie Taubman.
Lord Saye and Sele.
Lord Monkswell.
Earl of Verulam.
Hon. George Brodrick (Master of Balliol College).
Rt. Hon. William Brodrick.
Sir John Kirk.
Lord Radstock.
Sir Joseph Pease.
Arthur Pease.
Earl of Belmore.
Sir W. Fowler.
Arnold White.
Sir G. Sprigg of Cape Town.
Sir E. Grey.
Earl Nelson.
Lord Reay.
Lord Knutsford.
Sir Lintorn Simmons.
John Morley.
Sir Alfred Lyall.
Professor Butcher (Edinburgh Univ.).
J. G. Butcher, Q.C.
Sir Craufurd Chamberlain.
Sir Donald Stewart.
Lord Loch.
Lord George Hamilton.
Earl Egerton of Tatton.
Leonard Courtney.
Earl of Shaftesbury (Pres. of B.F.B.S.).
Hon. Captain Maude (Pres. of C.M.S.).
Henry Earl of Chichester „
Lord Kinnaird (10th).
Lord Kinnaird (his son).
John Talbot.
Sir W. Merewether.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Lord Hobhouse.
Sir Charles Reid.
Joseph Hoare.
Sir Henry Green
Sir W. Dalrymple Hay.
Mr. McArthur (Lord Mayor of London).
Peacock (Vice-Consul Baku).
Sir Beauchamp Walker.
John Cook.
Lord Sherbrooke.
Earl of Harrowby (Pres. of B.F.B.S.).
Sir Kirby Green (Morocco).
Sir John Hay „
Sir H. Wolfe.
Lord Cottesloe.
Sir Harry Verney.
Sir Rawson Rawson.
Lord Bazing.
Sir George Bowen.
Sir John Bowring.
Sir Charles Wilson.
Sir Charles Fremantle.
Ulysses Grant (President of United States).
Lord James of Hereford.
Sir Walter Elliot.
Sir Henry Gordon.
Sir Rutherford Alcock.
Mrs. Bishop.
Sir Erasmus Ommaney.
Sir J. Millais.

CLASS IV. LAYMEN (EXCLUSIVE OF SCHOLARS), FOREIGN.

Ismail Khedive of Egypt.
Shah of Persia.
Garibaldi.
Emperor of Brazil.
Duke of Aosta, ex-King of Spain.
Prince Lucien Louis Bonaparte.
Prince Victor Napoleon.
King of Sweden.
Queen of Sweden.
Queen of Oudh.
King of Roumania.
Queen of Roumania (Carmen Sylva).
Archduke Regnier of Austria.
Duke of Sermoneta.
Duchess of Sermoneta.
Khama, Chief of Be-Chuána.
Prince Galitzin of Russia.
Prince Malcolm Khan, Ambassador of Persia.
Prince Henri of Orleans.
Professor Villári.
Nuba Pasha.
Héli Chatelain.
Mabille.
Monod.
Baron Cetto.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CLASS V. SCIENTISTS, EXPLORERS, TRAVELLERS, OF ALL NATIONALITIES.

D. G. Hogarth.
Lane-Fox.
Sir A. Layard.
Fleet.
5 Sewell.
Bastian (Berlin).
Professor Graham Bell (Telephone).
Bonómi.
Cora (Milan).
10 McMillan.
Major Gill.
Schlieman.
Prof. Tyler (Oxford).
Wallace Mackenzie.
15 Ralston.
Sir Joseph Hooker.
Sir Clements Markham.
Sir D. Galton.
Francis Galton.
20 Lord Rayleigh.
Professor Gardner.
Professor E. Gardner.
Dr. J. Murray (Oxford Dictionary).
Ravenstein.
25 Waldstein.
Serpa Pinto.
Burton.
Lady Burton.
Cameron.
30 Thompson.
Henry Stanley.
Speke.
Grant.
Moffat.
35 Sir H. Johnston.
Amelia Edwards.
Professor Petrie.
Sir Roderick Murchison.
Nachtigall.
40 Schweinfurth.
Blandford.
Scott-Keltie (R.G.S.).
Mill ,,
Bates ,,
45 Sir W. Jenner.
Schlater.
General Walker.
Sir Henry Thullier.
Little.
50 Mrs. Little.
Sir L. Playfair.
Hormuzd Rassan.
53 Mrs. Bishop.

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		G. Russia	10	
		H. Holland	7	
		I. Belgium	3	
		J. Spain	3	
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APPENDIX XXII.

PUBLIC EVENTS AND REMARKABLE SIGHTS.

Date.	Public Events and Remarkable Sights.
1828	Catholic Emancipation Bill passed into Law.
1829	George IV seen driving in Windsor Park.
1830	From the top of the Round Tower of Windsor the assembly of Ministers were seen who were present while George IV was dying.
	Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg became King of the Belgians.
	Louis Philippe of Orleans became King of France.
1831	Coronation of William IV in Westminster Abbey.
	Princess Victoria of Kent seen for the first time on this occasion.
1832	Children's Ball at St. James's Palace. Princess Victoria of Kent present.
1833	Children's Ball at St. James's Palace. Princess Victoria of Kent present.
	Reform Bill passed into Law.
1834	William IV and Queen Adelaide were present at Eton College Speech Day.
	Bill for Abolition of Slavery passed into Law.
1836	Burning of Houses of Parliament.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Date.	Public Events and Remarkable Sights.
1837	Death of William IV. Proclamation of Queen Victoria on Windsor Bridge.
	Funeral of William IV in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.
1838	Eton Montem.
	Introduction of Penny Postage, and Postage Stamps.
	Coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey.
	Railway opened to Windsor.
1839	Telegraph to Windsor.
1840	Queen Victoria at Eton College on her Wedding-day.
1841	Birth of Prince of Wales.
	Last Eton Montem. Queen Victoria present.
	Election of Viscount Alford as Member for County of Bedford.
	Empress Marie Louise, widow of Napoleon I, was seen at Vienna in the Schonbrunn Gardens.
1842	Baptism of Prince of Wales in St. George's Chapel.
	Mass in Sistine Chapel, Rome, celebrated by Pope Gregory XVI.
	Liquefaction of blood of St. Januarius witnessed at Naples.
1843	Slave-Market at Cairo visited. Men and women sold.
	The three Pyramids of Ghizeh ascended.
	Mahomed Ali Pasha of Egypt seen.
	Funeral of headless body of Sir W. McNaghten.
	End of first Afghan War.
1844	Swinging of Fakirs with iron hoops through their skin.
	Battle of Maharajpúr and Marahta War.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Date.	Public Events and Remarkable Sights.
1845	Sikh War. Battles of Mudki, Ferozshahr.
1846	Battle of Sobraon. Taking of Lahór.
1847	Fire Temples of Jowála Múkhi visited.
1848	Panjáb War. Battles of Ramnuggur and Goojerát.
	Expedition against Rebels in District of Hoshyarpúr.
1849	One hundred Elephants crossing the River Satlaj at Rúpar.
1850	The River Ganges during the Festival at Hurdwar.
	Gulab Singh, King of Kashmir, visited at Srinagar.
1851	Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria, seen in his youth at Vienna.
	Siamese Twins seen in their youth in London.
1852	Visited Jerusalem, Damascus, Baelbek.
	Visited Caves of Elephanta, Ellóra, and Ajanta.
1853	Insurrection in City of Banáras put down by the Troops.
1855	Crimean War.
1856	Review of Troops on return from Crimea.
	Pope Pio Nono in Sistine Chapel.
1857	Sepoy Mutiny in India.
1865	Funeral of Lord Palmerston in Westminster Abbey.
1870	Service at St. Paul's Cathedral on recovery of Prince of Wales.
	Franco-German War.
1874	Emperor Alexander of Russia and his daughter drove through London in an open carriage.
1879	Funeral of Lord Lawrence in Westminster Abbey.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Date.	Public Events and Remarkable Sights.
1879	Witnessed eruption of Mount Vesuvius.
1884	North Cape. Midnight-Sun. Midsummer Night.
	Funeral of Sir Bartle Frere in St. Paul's Cathedral.
1885	Visited Statue of Memnon in Upper Egypt.
	Visited Jerusalem and Dead Sea.
1887	Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 50 years.
	Death of Prince Edward, Duke of Clarence.
1897	Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 60 years.
	Death of William Ewart Gladstone.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I HAVE STOOD AT DIFFERENT TIMES ON

I. The Capitol of Rome.

II. The Parthenon, and Mount Pentelicus, at Athens.

III. Mount Zion, and Mount of Olives, at Jerusalem.

IV. Mount Lebanon, Mount Etna, Mount Vesuvius.

V. The Top of the three Pyramids of Gizeh.

VI. The Himalaya Pass leading into Kashmir.

VII. The Taj Mehal at Agra.

VIII. The great Temple at Banáras.

IX. The Kutub Minar at Dehli.

X. The foot of the Khyber Pass.

XI. The Holy Tank at Amritsar.

XII. The North Cape at Midnight on Midsummer Night.

XIII. The Mosque at Sidi Okba in an Oasis in the Great Sahara.

XIV. The Island of Phylœ, looking down the Cataract of the Nile.

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